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KINSHIP IN SOUTHEASTERN ASIA

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A

ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES

113 AA	American Anthropologist
AM	Asia Major
AO	Acta Orientalia
ASB	Academia Sinica, Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
CR	China Review
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
IA	India Antiquary
IAE	Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBRS	Journal of the Burma Research Society
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRASB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
JSS	Journal of the Siam Society
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
MAAA	Memoirs of the American Anthropological Society
MASB	Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
MI	Man in India
MS	Monumenta Serica
MSOS	Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen

B

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NTF	Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi
SAJS	South African Journal of Science
TP	T'oung Pao
UCJDL	University of Calcutta, Journal of the Department of Letters
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie

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INTRODUCTION

The present study is in many ways a by-product of the writer's work in the general field of Far-Eastern linguistics. While engaged in investigations on the phonological systems of the Tibeto-Burman languages, Karen, Chinese, and Thai, the writer was obliged to devote a good share of his attention to the intricate and varied problems raised by semantic shifts occurring within widespread roots for kinship terms. The consideration of some of these more elementary problems led to attempts at working out individual kinship nomenclatures, and beyond this to a correlation of the results thus obtained. The approach, then, has been linguistic in every sense of that term.

A cursory glance at the history of kinship theory suffices to show that a truly linguistic approach in this field is something of an anomaly. Morgan may be said to have initiated a 'sociological' rather than 'linguistic' tradition, and this tradition has been perpetuated by Rivers, Radcliffe-Brown, Seligman, Spier, Gifford, and indeed the vast majority of all anthropologists who have actively concerned themselves with kinship problems. It is not so much that the relevancy and value of linguistic evidence has been denied as it is that linguists have not been interested specifically in kinship, nor kinship theorists in linguistics. Indications are not lacking that this historical dissociation is on the road to disappearance, but for the immediate present, at any rate, we must bear with it.

121 114 The need for a reorientation in kinship theory was first expressed by Kroeber in a classic article that appeared over thirty years ago (1909). This analysis led to much controversy on the general topic of sociological vs. psychological causation, with Radcliffe-Brown joining in the chorus, and the "eight categories" set up by Kroeber have exerted some influence, e.g. they have been applied by Feng to the Chinese terminology system. The theoretical implications were developed much later, and along altogether different lines, by Davis and Warner. Kroeber himself, building on an earlier analysis by Opler, has reconstructed the main features of the Athabascan kinship terminology, while Shimkin, one of his pupils, has made a more intensive study of the Uto-Aztecan system. Insofar as the writer is aware, none of the remaining American language groups has received similar attention, despite the fact that ample material, and in some instances linguistic studies, are available. Aside from the above, only Seligman's review of the Semitic terms, and Milke's analysis of the Melanesian and Polynesian sibling terms, have come to the writer's attention.

In the above studies by Kroeber, Shimkin, Seligman, and Milke, the historical relationships of the terms themselves are considered and some use is made of linguistic generalizations. Shimkin in particular has profited from Sapir's and Whorf's work on Uto-Aztecan phonology, and has thus been able to incorporate a fair body of linguistic information into his work. Seligman's article is deficient from the linguistic

121 point of view, and it is apparent that the author lacks
114 even a partial command of comparative Semitic philology. Milke's work shows the same shortcoming, despite the availability of Dempwolff's epoch-making studies on Austronesian phonology. Kroeber has stressed the point that even non-specialists can profitably engage in comparative studies of this type, and the point is well taken. There remains, however, the fact that the risk of grievous misinterpretations is greatly heightened under these conditions, and that many fine points, often of crucial importance, must be missed altogether.

121 The writer has attacked his problem from the same general linguistic angle but in a somewhat different manner. A vast and sprawling linguistic structure such as Tibeto-Burman cannot successfully be attacked simply by seizing upon a few roots, or upon a few English equivalents, and tracing their vagaries from language to language. This methodological eclecticism might prove to be 'convenient', but would be about as effective as delapidating a skyscraper with the aid only of a pickaxe. Again, one might compile interminable lists of terms for some two hundred Tibeto-Burman languages and dialects, which would be unintelligible to everyone with the possible exception of the compiler. Once more, one might draw up elaborate maps showing the distribution of certain roots for kinship terms, or of certain terminological features, and attempt to derive various conclusions therefrom. This last approach, at any rate, is not to be

121 summarily dismissed, but the writer fails to see how the expenditure of time and effort involved in such work can be justified in the present connection.

The approach adopted in the present work might be termed the 'direct method', in that each language or language-group is handled as a unit, along with the relevant ethnographic data, and an attempt is made to view each nomenclature as a functional entity with intra-relationships as well as extra-relationships. In this way a succession of patterns is presented rather than a series of disembodied etymologies or disjointed sets of sibling terms, grandparent terms, and the like. The comparative side is not lost sight of, however, and the writer does not shy at historical reconstruction. His approach is based, not on any metaphysic of kinship, but on practical expediency. He simply sees no other way of creating a complete picture of the culturo-linguistic situation with which he is faced. The linguistic material has been made especially full with the same end in mind. It must not be forgotten that kinship terms are, after all, linguistic elements, even though often handled more as if they were fish-traps or types of arrow release, and that linguistic coloring is all-important in shaping the semantic associations of any given term. It is hoped that what may at times seem to be extraneous matter will be regarded in this light.

Theoretical discussions are in general avoided, since one easily strays from the immediate problem at hand. Problems are met as they arise, but the solutions offered are not generalized in any way. Thus, in the Tibeto-Burman area the collateral and affinal terminology seems to reflect marriage and descent patterns fairly, and a correlation between unilateral (asymmetric) cross-cousin marriage and the Omaha type of nomenclature is suggested. A comparison is made *en passant* with a similar association of traits found at Pentecost, and parallels can be adduced from elsewhere (e.g. the Hopi, if Titiev's inferences are correct), but no attempt is made to develop this thesis.

The more general problem *in re* the relationship of kinship nomenclature to social organization, marriage practices, and the like, has been attacked only indirectly. Kroeber (1936) has compared this relationship with that of dress to body, with the remark that "one expects normally a considerable degree of fit". One might elaborate on this apt comparison by likening the fit of the "basic" terms ("father", "mother", "brother", "son", etc.) to that of the undergarments, and the fit of the collateral and affinal terms to that of the exterior garments, the latter showing much the greater variability. Aginsky has begged the question by applying the term "basic terminology" to the affinal nomenclature, and "superstructure" to the consanguineal. Aginsky undoubtedly has made a contribution in his analysis of the process whereby the child takes over the terms employed by its mother or father, but his elaborate treatment of this thesis does not appear to be justified, and the designations that he has introduced certainly cannot be accepted.

121 The exclusive emphasis on marriage as a causative factor
114 in kinship terminology, found both in Rivers and Aginsky though in different form, appears to be losing ground steadily; cf. the excellent studies by Tax, Eggan, McAllister, Opler, and Gilbert (in Eggan, 1937) and Opler (1937).

121 No use has been made of the terms "classificatory" and
128 "descriptive", each of which has acquired so wide a range of
601 connotations as to have lost all preciseness. The term "analytical" is used in its basic linguistic sense, e.g. "father's brother" is an analytical term, whereas "uncle" is a primary term. Note that a term may be only partly analytical, e.g. "uncle's son", where the fully analytical term would be "father's brother's son" or "mother's brother's son".

Three types of terminological equations are distinguished, as follows:

1. Categorical equation: equation of members of the two different categories of kin (consanguineal and affinal), e.g. "mother's brother" = "father-in-law".

2. Lineal equation: equation of members of two different lines of descent, e.g. "brother" = "father's sister's son", "son" = "brother's son".

3. Serial equation: equation of members of two different generations, e.g. "son" = "grandson".

These terms are to be regarded as convenient tags of some use in describing patterns of nomenclature, e.g. the Omaha and Crow types are characterized by serial equations in the cross collateral lines. The equation may rest on the extension

121 of a term through analogy or teknonymy, e.g. "grandfather"= 128 "father-in-law" (teknonymy) or on the merging of the referents, 601 e.g. "mother's brother"= "father-in-law" in a group practising cross-cousin marriage. One's explanation of a given system of nomenclature depends in large measure on his analysis of these factors, and one must guard against a premature assumption in either direction. Other equation categories can be established, e.g. the equation of elder and younger siblings, but those cited above have proved to be the most useful.

A final word remains to be said with regard to the system of notation employed. For each language considered in detail, a table of terms is drawn up, with those referring to female kin on the left, those referring to male kin on the right, and those without sex specification (neuter) in the center. This simple arrangement permits of rapid inspection of the table, and is more convenient than the charts of which kinship theorists are so fond. In the notation itself an attempt has been made to get away from the "bastard algebra of kinship", to use Malinowski's phrase (p. 19). Primary English terms are represented by capital letters, and English categorical terms by small letters. Since terms such as "aunt", "uncle", and "cousin" are often found in our sources, these have been retained in our notation. The letter N is used for "nephew, niece" (i.e. neuter), Ne for "nephew", Ni for "niece", and the cousin terms are formed analogically, viz. C "cousin (neuter)", Ce "cousin (male)", Ci "cousin (female)". Cf. also the parallelism in Si "sister" (S "son").

Kinship Notation

121	A	aunt
128	B	brother
197	C	cousin
601	Ce	cousin (male)
	Ci	cousin (female)
	Ch	child
	D	daughter
	(ds)	(different sex from speaker's)
	F	father
	G	grand-
	l	-in-law
	M	mother
	N	nephew or niece
	Ne	nephew
	Ni	niece
	(os)	(older than speaker)
	p	parallel
	P	parent
	S	son
	Sb	sibling
	Si	sister
	Sp	spouse
	(ss)	(same sex as speaker's)
	U	uncle
	x	cross
	(ys)	(younger than speaker)

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SECTION A

TIBETO-BURMAN

1. Introduction

121 The Tibeto-Burman family of languages represents the
128 center of gravity of the Sino-Tibetan-Karen-Thai linguistic complex (Indo-Chinese) and thus makes an ideal focal point in our study of kinship terminology in southeastern Asia. The diversity within this family, roughly comparable with that of Indo-European, has given rise to great terminological variation, the interpretation of which involves an historical perspective. Tibeto-Burman, therefore, provides a testing-ground for methods as well as a point of departure, and an analysis of kinship nomenclature in this Western division of Indo-Chinese yields a framework within which the nomenclatures of Karen, Chinese, and Thai, or the Eastern division of the group, can be defined.

Tibeto-Burman studies have suffered somewhat from the undue prominence given to Chinese by the epoch-making work of Bernhard Karlgren and Henri Maspero. The classic contribution in the field, Conrady's analysis of the so-called "causative-denominative" formation, is concerned almost exclusively with morphological aspects. The same may be said of the more recent and much more substantial studies by Wolfenden, while Houghton's interesting article on

121 "linguistic palaeontology" is essentially devoted to
128 semantics. Other studies in the general field, with the exception of those noted below, are entirely superficial and need not be cited here. The fact that a sound morphological and semantic analysis can proceed only from a sound phonological basis has gone largely unheeded by students of Tibeto-Burman linguistics. The writer, working in collaboration with Mr. Robert Shafer, has attempted to supply this basis. The fruit of their joint effort is embodied in the Sino-Tibetan Linguistics series as well as in individual articles by the co-authors. This series of volumes, as specified in the bibliography appended to the present introduction, covers most of the Tibeto-Burman divisions, the major exceptions being Miri-Dafla, Konyak (East Naga), Lepcha (Rong), and Lui (Kadu). The results achieved in the Sino-Tibetan Linguistics series are in no sense definitive, but a number of broad phonetic generalizations have been attained and in some instances rather detailed phonetic analyses have been completed. In the present study the writer has refined the analysis at many points and has in some places arrived at new interpretations, while the phonological treatment of Miri-Dafla, Lepcha, and other groups is presented here for the first time.

197 The Tibeto-Burman languages, like Karen, Chinese, and Thai, are characterized by the presence of monosyllabic roots and the employment of distinctive tones (tonemes).

194 Tones appear to be lacking in a few members of the family, notably in the generally archaic West Tibetan dialects (Balti and Purik), hence only a tendency to develop tonal systems rather than a tonal system itself can definitely be postulated for the parent speech. Monosyllabic roots, however, of the type *k'wi "dog", *mig "eye", *ni "sun, day", are of absolute diagnostic value. The phonemic scheme of the parent language seems to have been relatively simple. The stop and affricate series included both aspirated and unaspirated surds and at least one sonant member. To these were added four nasals (ng, ń, n, m), probably four sibilants (s, z, š, ž), the liquids l and r, and consonantal y, w, and h. The final consonants, however, were limited to -g, -d, -b; -ng, -n, -m; -r, -l, and probably -s. Initial consonantal clusters were restricted to combinations of stops, affricates, sibilants, or nasals + r, l, or y, e.g. kl-, mr-, py-, but prefixed groupings complicated the anlaut in many roots, making possible forms such as Tib. brgyad "8". The vocalic system included a, i, and u, probably with a simple "long" vs. "short" quantitative distinction, and e and o, which seem secondary in many instances. The parent language also had diphthongs both of rising type, e.g. wa (u̯a), wi (u̯i), and of falling type, e.g. au̯, ei̯, the latter type appearing only in final position, as in *ts'au "fat", *mei "fire".

193 On the morphological side the parent Tibeto-Burman speech showed almost as great simplicity. It was primarily a prefixing language with isolating characteristics and a

193 fixed word order: subject + object + verb. The verbal prefix apparatus, which is especially prominent in Tibetan and Kachin, consisted of "subjective" prefixes m-, b-, and "directive" prefixes d-, g-, r-, l-, s-. The s- prefix often appears as a true causative morpheme, as in Kachin in the form ša, dža, e.g. bra "to be scattered", ša-bra "to scatter"; k'rit "to fear", dža-k'rit "to frighten", and in Burmese, in which the initial of the transitive form has been aspirated by the loss of prefixed s-, e.g. pran "to be full", p'rań "to fill"; lwat "to be free", hlwat "to set free". Prefixed m- is "stative" (neutral), as in Tib. mnam-pa "to smell, stink", mt'o-ba "to be high", often with reflexive force, as in Tib. mnab-pa "to put on garments, dress oneself". This prefix seems to represent an ancient demonstrative pronoun, which still functions independently in Meithei (Manipuri) and can be traced elsewhere. It often imparts substantival value, e.g. *m-šin (Tib. mtš'in) "liver" "its-bitter (šin)-part" (see the discussion in Benedict, 1939), Kachin pyen "to fly", ma-pyen "wings" < "its-flying", rut "to rub", ma-rut "a grater" < "its-rubbing". In many instances prefixes occuring with substantival forms cannot be analyzed, e.g. *r-mei "tail", *d-gu "9", while occasionally there is fluctuation in prefix usage, e.g. *l-nga or *b-nga "5".

601
193 The existence of the m- pronominal prefix discussed above is of some importance in the analysis of kinship terms in Tibeto-Burman. Kinship terms, like words for parts of the

body, are especially susceptible to prefixation of this 601 type. Thus Meithei has ma-pa "father", ma-ma "mother" just 93 as it has ma-sa "body", ma-mai "tail", ma-hau "fat", ma-hei "fruit", etc. The most widespread prefix of this type is the prefix a-, as in Tib. ʼa-p'a "father", ʼa-ma "mother", Lepcha a-bo "father", a-mo "mother", Kachin a-wa "father", a-nu " mother", Burmese a-p'a "father, a-maʼ "mother". As Laufer has shown, this a- prefix usage extends even into Chinese. In Tibetan this prefix is used only with kinship terms, but in Kachin, Burmese, and some of the Kukish languages it has retained its old pronominal function in its use with words for parts of the body, e.g. Southern Chin a-miʼ "eye", a-ho "tooth" along with a-po "father", a-nü "mother", and Lhota Naga o-k'e "hand", o-pok "belly" along with o-po "father, o-pvü "mother" (Lhota o < a). Wolfenden (1929, pp. 177 and ff.) sought to distinguish between pronominal and non-pronominal usages of this prefix, but failed to note its use with parts of the body in Kachin (e.g. a-mun "hair of the body", a-nu "brain") and in Burmese (e.g. a-mwe^3 "hair of the body", a-mri^3 "tail"), hence his argument must be discarded in toto. A third prefix of pronominal origin, k- or ka-, is also used with relationship terms, e.g. Kachin ka-wa "(his) father" along with n-wa "(your) father" and a-wa "(its) father" and wa "father", Thado (Khongzai dialect) ka-pa "father, ka-nu "mother". In the separate discussions that follow, pronominal prefixes of this type will be enclosed within parentheses, e.g. Tib. (ʼa-)p'a "father".

601 In striking contrast to this rather elaborate prefix
193 apparatus Tibeto-Burman shows almost no true morphological suffixation. A characteristic "final dental morphology", however, appears in Tibetan, Kachin and elsewhere and undoubtedly must be postulated for the parent speech. In this series Tibetan has -n, -d, and -s, the latter in some instances derived from -ds. Cf. the following examples: Tib. za-ba, gza-ba "to eat", gzan-pa "to eat,devour,gnaw", bzan "food of animals, pasturage", zan "pap, fodder", zas "food, nourishment", and Kachin ša "to eat", šat "boiled rice", i.e. "food"; Tib. bgo-ba "to put on clothes", gon-pa "to put on clothes; clothing", gos "garment"; Tib. dro-ba "to be warm, warm, warmth", dro, dros "the hot part of the day", dros-pa "heated", dron-mo "warm", drod "warmth, heat". As indicated by the above series, these derivatives in -n, -d, -s are often substantival, the typical formation being of the type na-ba "to be ill", nad "disease". The connection between the verbal root and the derived form with final dental is not always clear, especially in languages in which this morphology no longer functions, e.g. Burmese na "to be ill", nat "demon" < "spirit of disease" (see the discussion in Benedict, 1939). The importance of this morphology in connection with kinship terminology will be made clear in the discussion of the Tibetan system.

197 The classification of the Tibeto-Burman languages presents a number of serious problems which admit of no solution at the present time. The general picture is much

197 like that in Indo-European linguistics, i.e. several large well-defined groups and various smaller groups can be pointed out, but, with the exception of a few specific similarities, the exact genealogies of these groups cannot be traced. The 128 main divisions of Tibeto-Burman and the approximate positions 197 of some of the key languages are indicated on the appended language list and map. This list includes only those languages for which kinship material is given and is in no sense complete. This material has been arranged with a view to guiding the reader through the maze of Tibeto-Burman linguistics, hence the transitions are both geographical and philological. First the important Tibetan group and its aberrant dialects are considered, thus yielding a yardstick of comparison against which other systems can be collated. Proceeding then to the south, we discuss the chain of languages spoken in the sub-Himalayan area, from west to east, ending with the Miri group in northern Assam. The linguistic affiliations follow much the same pattern, inasmuch as the languages of Kanauri type in the western sub-Himalayas approach Tibetan while those in the eastern sub-Himalayas (Nepal) show affiliations rather with the languages of Assam and Burma. The Kachin group, which stands at the "linguistic crossroads" of Tibeto-Burman, forms the natural transition to Nung and Burmese on the one hand, and to Konyak and Barish on the other. Lastly, the Kukic complex of languages, including Kuki-Chin, Naga,

128 Mikir, and Meithei, round out our picture of Tibeto-Burman 197 kinship terminology as a whole. As new material is presented in connection with each group taken up for discussion, recapitulatory remarks are added to tie the argument together, and a general summary is offered at the end.

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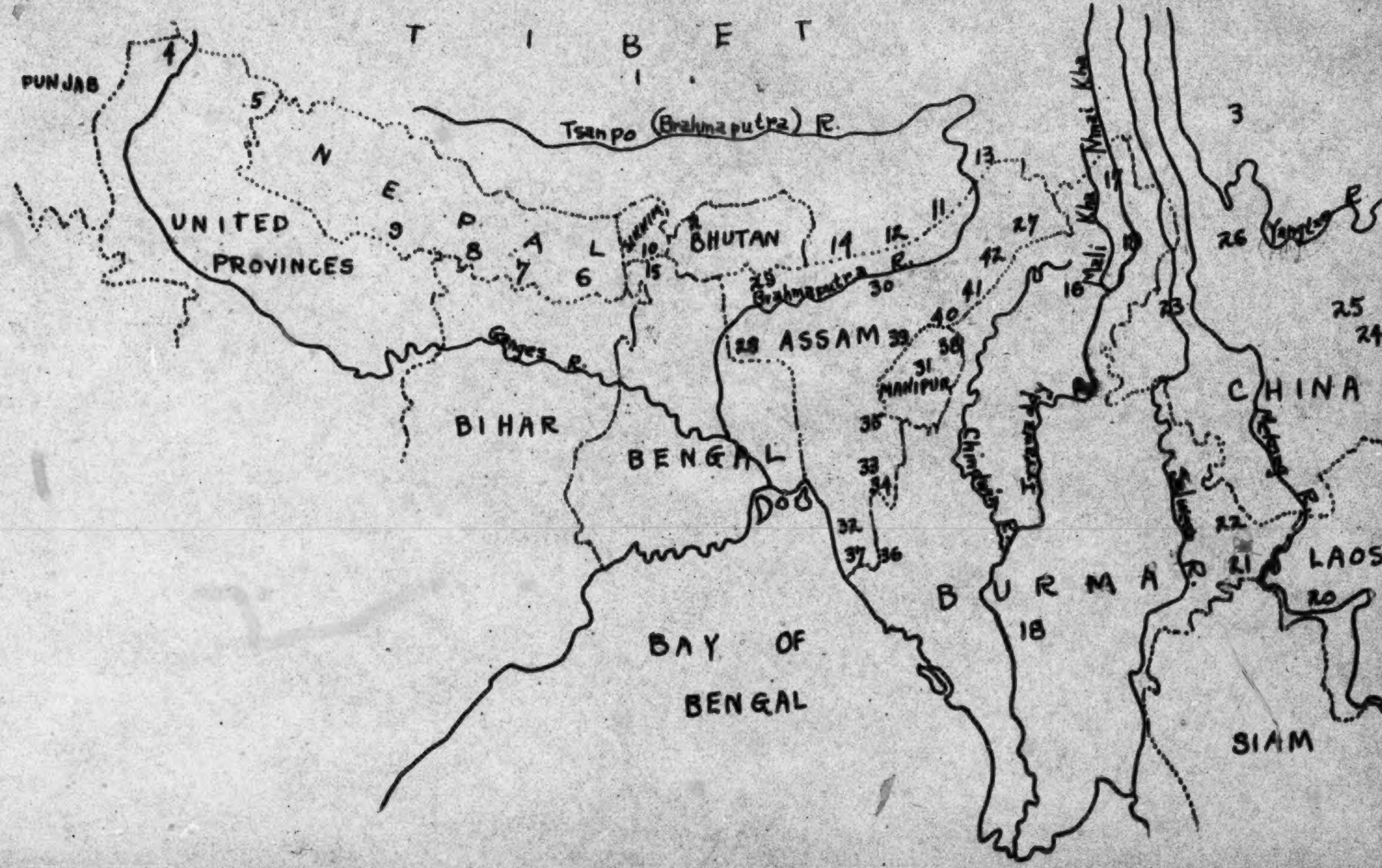
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3. Gyarung
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34. Lakher
35. Thado
36. Sho
37. Khami
38. Tangkhul
39. Empeo
40. Angami
41. Sema
42. Ao

Language List:

Abor-Miri 11. Ahi 25. Aka 14. Akha 21. Angami 40. Ao 42. Bahing 6. Bodo 29.
Burmese 18. Byangsi 5. Chang 27. Dafla 12. Dhimal 15. Digaru 13. Empeo 39.
Garo 28. Gyarung 3. Kachin 16. Kanauri 4. Khami 37. Lahu 22. Lakher 34. Lepcha 10.
Lisu 23. Lushei 33. Magari 9. Maru 19. Meithei 31. Mikir 30. Moso 26. Mru 32.
Newari 8 Nung 17. Nyi 24. Phunoi 20. Sema 41. Sho 36. Tangkhul 38. Thado 35.
Tibetan 1. Tsangla 2. Vayu 7.

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2. The Tibetan Group

197 The Tibetan (Bodish) group of languages consists of Classical Tibetan, the modern Tibetan dialects, and a number of speeches of aberrant type, the most important of which are Gyarung, Tsangla, Murmi, and Gurung, all spoken on the eastern or southeastern fringes of Tibet. The orthography of the Classical language, or Old Tibetan, reflects the phonology of the 8th century. The morphological apparatus of the language had become "congealed" even at that early period, yet the archaic forms that it exhibits constitute one of our principal sources for the reconstruction of Tibeto-Burman. Of the modern dialects, only the westernmost (Balti and Purik) and the easternmost spoken in Khams are of much help in reconstituting pre-Classical forms, and the Khams dialects are virtually unknown. Of the aberrant Bodish languages, Gyarung is the best known but at the same time the most divergent and the most difficult to analyze.

Our sources for Tibetan lexicography are relatively good. The most important dictionaries are those of Csoma de Körös, Schmidt, Jaeschke, Das, and the Missionaires Catholiques du Tibet (generally known under the name of Desgodins, the final editor of the work), all of which are devoted primarily to the Classical language. The archaic western dialects of Balti and Purik are known through the fairly good studies of Read and Bailey, while a large number of sources, none of first-rate value, exist for the less important central and

197 southern dialects. On the strictly lexical side, therefore, Tibetan kinship terminology must be regarded as sufficiently well known. Singularly little information is at hand, however, on the ethnological aspects. The numerous writers on Tibet have in general been preoccupied with the highly publicized subject of polyandry and sundry oddities to the exclusion of the anthropologically more significant fields of marriage regulation and clan organization. Thus Sir Charles Bell's standard ethnography of Tibet (The People of Tibet, Oxford, 1928) gives no information on these important points. This general discrepancy obtains in our information on almost all the Tibeto-Burman groups but nowhere else does it attain such striking proportions.

601 Classical Tibetan Consanguineal Terms

gzi-mes-mo gggM		gži-mes gggF
yang-mes-mo ggM		yang-mes-po ggF
p'yi-mo gM		mes-po gF
(ʾa-)ma M		(ʾa-)p'a F
(ʾa-)ne FSi, MBW		k'u-bo FB
sru-mo MSi		žang-po MB
(ʾa-)c'e OSi(ws)		p'u-bo (ʾa-)jo eB(ms)
nu-mo ySi(ws)		nu-bo yB(ms)
sring-mo Si(ms)		ming-po B(ws)
bu-mo D	bu Ch	bu(-p'o) S
ts'a-mo Ni,gD	ts'a N,gCh	ts'a-bo Ne,gS
	yang-ts'a ggCh,ggS	
	yung-ts'a gži-ts'a gggCh	

Classical Tibetan Affinal Terms

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gyos-mo sgyug-mo	Ml	gy gyos-po	Fl
		skud skud-po	Bl,Fl
mna-ma	SW,gSW	mag-mag-pa	DH

Notes:

As shown below, mes-po (gF) is perhaps a respectful word that has displaced the older colloquial term. The original term seems to have been *(?a-)po, or *spo-bo. It is found as the term for gF in the archaic Western dialects of Balti and Purik (a-po) and in Central Tibetan as recorded by Bell (po-o) and Henderson (po). The intervening dialects of Nyamskad (by Gerard) and Spiti (by Cunningham), however, have the term me-me (meh-meh), which is the colloquial variant of mes-po. For the Classical language, Desgodins cites spo-bo "avus (aïeul)" as the equivalent of mes-po. Schmidt gives 'a-bo "der ältere Bruder; Herr" as the equivalent of 'a-jo, and Desgodins confirms this, with the additional note that in Bathang (eastern Tibet) the term ('a-bo) is used for the wife or daughter of a chief. Das further complicates the picture by citing 'a-po as "junior husband of a woman", also "youthful husband of an elderly woman", also "address for an elderly man". This accretion of meanings is best explained on the assumption that the term, having been displaced by the respectful appellation mes-po, has undergone extreme semantic specialisation in parts of the Tibetan linguistic area.

601 There is some evidence for a correlative term *rmo-mo (gM) along with *spo-bo (gF). Schmidt cites rmo-mo (also ma-mo) as gM, and Das cites the variant rmo-ma as FM, also as " old woman". Desgodins gives the reduplicated form rmo-rmo "avia materna" (MM), but notes that in Bathang it has the meaning "noverca, socrus (belle-mère)" (Ml). Csoma equates rmo-mo with ma-o'ung (MySi); cf. Das' definition of ʼa-po as "junior husband of a woman". For Central Tibetan Bell cites mo-o < rmo-o gM, paralleling po-o gF, and Henderson cites mo gM and po gF, hence the correlative nature of the two terms is assured. The western dialects, however, all have a root *a-pi (cited as a-bi in Spiti) representing a variant of the Classical form ʼa-p'yi < *ʼa-p'i (= p'yi-mo). The unaspirated variant is found also in the Gyarung cognate, a-pi "old woman" (voc.) (in von Rosthorn).

The paternal and maternal lines are not generally distinguished in Tibetan, yet the combined terms p'a-mes FF and ma-mes MF are cited by Csoma.

The terms given for relatives of the 3rd and 4th asc. gen. are not in general use. With the exception of yang-mes (for yang-mes-po), which occurs in the Gyalrabs (native Tibetan history), these terms have been taken from Schmidt's dictionary. The element yang is perhaps to be identified with yang "again", while gži is connected with gži(-ma) "original cause" used in the sense of time, e.g. gži-ning "two years ago". The variant že-ning (Csoma gžes-rnying) also means

601 "two years ago", but gňes as an independent word means "the second day after tomorrow", which seems more applicable to terms for the 4th asc. and desc. gen. (Sc[illegible]dt cites both gži-mes and že-mes for ggF).

Schmidt gives an additional term, be-log, for ggF, but this cannot be analyzed (for -log, cf. logs "side"). The interesting combined form yes-mes, the first element of which is unanalyzable, is defined by Schmidt as "Stammvater", by Desgodins as "antecessores, avus (vulg.)".

A root *'a-ta "father", though scarcely part of the Classical language, is well represented in Tibetan in general. Csoma, Das, and Desgodins all cite ʾa-ta F, while Desgodins defines the term more precisely as "vox puerorum pro p'a et ʾa-p'a". Das adds the interesting comment that in Kong-po ʾa-ta is equivalent to ʾa-jo (oB); cf. ʾa-bo supra. Balti and Purik both have a-ta as the standard term for F, while in Balti ba-wa, the sonant variant of p'a, is regarded as a respectful term.

The term ʾa-ma M has no serious rival within Tibetan. Balti has zi-zi M along with a-ma (cf. the aberrant form a-si ggM cited for Balti by Austen), and Lhoke, the Tibetan dialect spoken in Bhutan, has a-yi.

The four terms for "uncle" and "aunt" extend throughout most of the Tibetan dialects with little variation. These primary terms, however, are often replaced by combined forms, especially in western Tibet. The combining element is

601 generally c'ung "small" or c'en "large". Thus, ʾa-pa (for ʾa-p'a) c'en-po "the elder husband of a person's mother", ʾa-pa c'ung-ngu "the younger husband of id.", hence occasionally "uncle". For Lahuli, de Roerich defines the corresponding ʾa-wa c'ed-mo and ʾa-wa c'u/un as "older uncle" and " younger uncle", respectively, while ʾa-ma c'u/un is defined simply as "aunt". Csoma defines ma-c'en as MoSi and ma-c'ung as MySi, but Jaeschke interprets these combined forms rather as "father's principal wife" and "father's secondary wife", respectively. Balti has a-ta ts'ar-ma and a-ta tsun-tse for FB, where ts'ar-ma means "old" and tsun-tse means "young,small" , hence one can interpret the former as FoB and the latter as FyB. Austen cites a parallel form, viz. a-ngo tsun-tse MSi (a-ngo < a-ma). For Purik, Bailey defines a-ta both as "father" and as "uncle", but in the illustrative sentence on p. 29 the combined form a-ta ts'un-tse is given for "uncle". Cunningham cites ma-jung "aunt" for Spiti.

The use of combined terms of this type is certainly to be associated with polyandrous and polygynous practices. The West Tibetan terms for "uncle", in particular, must be explained on the basis of the fraternal polyandry prevalent in that area. Not only a-ta, properly F, but also a-gu or a-ku (Classical k'u-bo), properly FB, may be extended to cover the F = FB equivalence. The latter extension is found in Nyamskad and Spiti, the westernmost dialects of Central Tibetan type. Thus Nyamskad has a-gu "father, male", 601 and u-gu FB, while Spiti has a-ku F,FB. For the meaning "male", cf. Classical p'a-glang "bull", p'a-rta "stallion". The equivalence F = FB is thus linguistically a two-way one.

In West Tibetan a-ku is further extended to co[illegible]r the affinal relationship "husband, consort" (Jaeschke). Under fraternal polyandry a-ku becomes "husband of the mother" and, through teknonymy, "husband". A parallel is furnished by a-ne or ne-ne-mo, regularly FSi (and so Balti ne-ne), but in West Tibetan used for "wife, partner, spouse" (Jaeschke). Das cites the meaning FBW for ʾa-ne (the term is defined by Jaeschke as FSi,MBW). The term has the additional meaning "woman, female" (cf. Nyamskad a-ne "father's sister, female"), parallelling the use of a-gu (supra), and even "nun" (Csoma) and "grandaunt" (Gyalrabs). Since ʾa-ne FSi stands outside F's group of marriageable females, one must conclude that this semantic development in the direction of "wife, woman, female" has proceeded through analogy with a-ku FB.

A notable West Tibetan irregularity is presented by Balti mo-mo MB, independently attested by Austen and Read. The form must be compared with Kanauri mo-ma ~ ma-ma MB, Byangsi and Chaudangsi ma-ma MB, which are clearly loan-words from Ind. māmā, id. The borrowing has probably been made via the Kanauri group of Himalayish (vide infra). Nyamsḱad has the standard term, a-žang, along with a new term, e-bi (= a-bi). It would seem that the MB term is unstable in West Tibetan, and we shall see that this condition obtains elsewhere.

Csoma and Schmidt cite ʾa-bang ~ bang-po FSiH, MSiH, but the term is poorly attested and does not seem to have survived in the modern Tibetan dialects.

The sibling terms are reducible to a root for ySb (*nu ~ no) and especial terms for oSb. The root *nu usually appears in the form *no, e.g. Spiti no B, Nyamskad no yB, Purik no-mo ySi, p'o-no B, Balti no-ngo < no-mo ySi (cf. the remarks on Balti infra). One is tempted to connect this term with the root represented by nu-ma "breast", nu-ba "to suck" , nud-pa, snun-pa "to suckle" (note the morphology), but the etymological relation is not certain.

The terms for oSb make up a distinct class. Sororal polygyny is reflected in the West Tibetan use of a-ce or a-se (a-ce) as "wife, mistress, madam", and in the meaning "elder wife" assigned by Schmidt to the Classical form c'e-se. The term may be derived from c'e-ba "great" (cf. the respectful term gcen-po oB), but note that a root *c'e "woman" appears in the Kanauri group (infra). The basic term for oB is p'u-bo, as shown in part by its morphological relationship to spun (vide infra). The term a-jo, also jo-jo and jo-bo, must be regarded as an intruder from the respectful language; cf. its common meaning "lord, master", and jo-mo "mistress, the female head of a household". The word t'u-bo "chief" (cf. t'u-mo "lady, mistress") is used in the Dsanglun and Taranatha (Buddhist works) in the meaning oB, thus paralleling the semantic development of ʾa-jo.

601 Balti has an especial term for oB, viz. ka-ka. Jaeschke cites only West Tibetan (i.e. Ladakhi) ga-ga "a title of honour: the old squire". He equates this term with Central Tibetan a-jo-lag (from ʼa-jo oB), and contrasts it with Ladakhi no-no "title of young nobleman" (from nu-bo ~ no-bo yB), hence there can be no question as to the identity of Jaeschke's ga-ga with Read's ka-ka, despite the semantic discrepancy. This term also occurs in the contiguous Himalayish group (infra), viz. Chamba Lahuli kag < ka-ga, Kanchati ka-ka oB. Like mo-mo ~ ma-ma yB, it is an Indic loan-word; cf. Hindustani kākā oB, FyB, Persian kākā oB, FB. The Indic term ordinarily has the meaning "FyB", and it is in this sense that it has been borrowed by the Almora languages (infra, pt. 3).

Age distinctions among siblings are occasionally indicated by combined terms. Thus Purik has p'o-no "brother", co p'o-no " big brother", ts'un-tse p'o-no " little brother" (text, p. 32), yet retains a-ce and no-mo for oSi and ySi. Rockhill cites cung-wa yB for Central Tibetan, probably from c'ung-ba " small" , and lo-c'ung yB for East Tibetan, literally "young in years" ("years-small"). The latter may explain the puzzling Lhoke form, a-lo "son", cited in the LSI.

The ma vs. wa distinction in Tibetan appears to be well retained in the modern dialects, but the information on this point is generally not precise. Bailey does not mention the distinction for Purik, nor de Roerich for Lahuli, but Read specifically states that Balti no-ngo ySi and a-še oSi are women's terms, whence it may be inferred that Balti string-mo Si is a man's term. The cross terms, sring-mo and ming-po, are well represented in the modern dialects and the former, as will be shown, even has some Tibeto-Burman extension. In Sikkim sring-mo has the meaning ySi (Desgodins), while for Nyamskad Gerard similarly limits the meaning of sěng-mo (< sring-mo) to ySi. Desgodins defines ming-po as "ejusdem nominis, consanguineus frater", indicating that he believed it to be related to ming "name", as used, for example, in p'a-ming "relations on the father's side". For sring-mo, however, no comparable derivation can be suggested, and the etymological connections of the two terms remain uncertain.

The term bu Ch offers no especial difficulties. The primary term itself is used also in the meaning "son" and enters into compounds such as bu-sring "S and Si" (= ming-sring), while bu-p'o, formed with p'o "male" in contradistinction to the enclitic particle -po of ming-po, etc., is a secondary formation based on analogy with bu-mo "daughter". The latter term is frequently used in the meaning "girl, maiden, virgin", and in West Tibetan generally stands also for bud-med "woman, wife".

Several less important terms exist in Tibetan for relatives of the 1st desc. gen. The most notable of these is p'rug (also p'rug-gu, p'ru-gu) "child". The root is perhaps *p'ru rather than *p'rug; cf. p'ru-ma "uterus", and the Purik form p'ru S,Ch. The term byis-pa is used in the

601 more specific sense of "little child" (byi-bo in Schmidt and the native lexicons). Milaraspa (poetic work) has mo-byis "female child", but the Central Tibetan form is mo-yi, which indicates an original *mo-dbyis (db- drops in this dialect, as in u "head" for Classical dbu). The form mo-yi must be compared with Lhoke (Bhutan) a-yi "mother" (vide supra). Desgodins cites ʾa-kwa-ba, ʾa-k'wa-ba "puerulus (petit enfant)", as well as ʾa-ba-wa, a-ba-mu, a-ba-kwa " puerulus" and ʾa-wa "infantulus". The ʾa-ba~ ʾa-wa type is represented also in Central Tibetan a-wa (Henderson) "child" and the respectful form a-wa se-sö (for * ʾa-ba sras-sros) cited by Bell. One naturally compares this type with ʾa-p'a ~ ʾa-ba "father", which exists also in the form ʾa-wa (Lahuli). There are thus some meagre indications of reciprocal parental terminology in Tibetan.

The term ts'a, which equates the 1st descending collateral and the 2nd descending central generations, presents something of a semantic problem. Etymologically the word is related to btsa-ba "to bear, bring forth", btsas-pa " what is begotten, new-born children or animals", btsa-ma "fruit", btsas-ma "harvest". The combined term bu-ts'a is used in the Thargyan (native scientific work) in the meaning "gCh", but in the modern dialects, especially West Tibetan, it has the meaning "son" and is used as a correlative of bu-mo, e.g. bu-ts'a dang bo-mo "S and D". In Lahuli bu-mo is defined as "girl, woman, niece", and bu-ts'a

601 as "son, nephew", thus merging the collateral and central lines. Ladakhi distinguishes between me-me ts'a-wo gS (me-me gF) and a-žang ts'a-wo Ne (a-žang MB). In this connection note that ts'a is combined with ʾa-žang MB but not with k'u FB (though Jaeschke gives ts'a-bo Ne,BS from the Dzanglun). The combined term žang-ts'a is defined as "SiS" (probably xNe), but ts'a-žang means "nephew and uncle by the mother's side", and in the works of the poet Mileraspa it is employed in the connotation "spiritual brotherhood". An additional meaning, viz. "Sl and Bl", is provided from the Gyalrabs, an historical work; in this usage ts'a equates Ne and Sl (under cross-cousin marriage, x[illegible] becomes Sl), and žang equates MB with Bl (under cross-cousin marriage, MB becomes Fl, and the affinal term proper, skud-po, equates Fl with Bl). Lahuli offers a curious variation in its use of ts'a-o < ts'a-bo for gS, but ts'a-mo for W, while a new combined term, ts'a-mo-tsi, is used for gD. This usage of ts'a-mo parallels the West Tibetan use of bo-mo (supra); the element -tsi is probably a diminutive (cf. be-ci "little boy", in Das).

The terms yang-ts'a ggCh and gži-ts'a gggCh parallel yang-mes-po ggF and gži-mes gggF. Thus yang can be considered a categorical term for the 3rd asc. or desc. generation, and gži for the 4th asc. or desc. generation. Rockhill gives yang-tsa (for yang-ts'a) as the East Tibetan term for gS,gD, suggesting an original ts'a Ch. Schmidt cites gži-ts'a gggCh, but the common term is yung-ts'a (yung cannot be analyzed).

601 Several Tibetan kinship terms of unusual interest exhibit the characteristic "dental morphology" of this language (vide Introduction). An -n or -d suffix is added to the root, and, when the root has an initial stop consonant, an s- is prefixed. Thus, smad < ma M, spad < p'a F, spun < p'u(-bo) oB, skud(-po) < k'u(-bo) FB, but ts'an < ts'a N, gCh, and mc'ed < c'e oSi (with m- prefix). The loss of aspiration after prefixed s- is a regular Tibetan phenomenon; cf. 'k'or-ba "to turn round", skor-ba "to surround"; 'p'ur-ba "to fly", spur-ba "to make fly". These derived forms are used as collectives. Thus, smad "children, in relation to their mother", in combination with bu or ma. Contrast bu-smad "family, children, wife and children" with ma-bu "mother and son, capital and interest, original and copy, principal and cross beam" (bu seems never to be combined with p'a F). For the use of ma-smad, cf. nged ma-smad "I and my mother" (nged "I or we"); rgan-mo ma-smad gsum "the old woman with her (two) sons" (rgan-mo "old woman", gsum "three"). The corresponding masculine phrase is p'a-spad "father and children", perhaps formed secondarily on analogy with ma-smad. Csoma also cites a combined term span-spun "brothers, relatives".

The terms spun and ts'an are applied to relatives in Ego's generation. Spun is defined as "children of the same parents, brothers, sisters", also "cousins, brothers- or sisters-in-law". It is used for siblings of the same sex; cf. nged spun gsum "we three brothers", k'yed bu-mo spun lnga-po "you five sisters". A distinction is drawn between p'a-spun "brothers and sisters of the same father" and ma-spun "brothers and sisters of the same mother" (for p'a-spun, vide infra). A feminine form, spun-ma, has been developed for "sister". The development of spun from p'u-bo oB is exactly paralleled in the respectful term, mc'ed, from (ʾa-)c'e oSi.

The term ts'an, like ts'a, shows a tendency to equate different generations. In the combined form k'u-ts'an "uncle and nephew", to be contrasted with ts'a-žang and žang-ts'a (supra), the meaning "nephew" is faithfully reflected. The terms p'a-ts'an "cousin by the father's side" and ma-ts'an "cousin by the mother's side" (Central Tibetan p'a-tsen and ma-tsen), however, indicate ts'an ~ ts'a "child" rather than "nephew". Jaeschke even equates p'a-ts'an with p'a-spun " brothers and sisters of the same father". The term ts'an has acquired a wide range of meanings, which have proved puzzling to the lexicographers of Tibetan. Jaeschke defines it in one sense as "termination of some collective nouns", and cites gnyen-ts'an, nye-ts'an "kindred, relations" (gnyen "relations"), and blon-po-ts'an " embassies" (blon-po "officer"). Ts'an also has the connotations "series, order, class" (e.g. bži-ts'an "collection of four things"), "much, large, copious, great" (e.g. ts'an c'e-ba "very much"), and ts'an-po is used as a title: "dignitary, grandee".

Our information on terms used for "cousins" in Tibetan is none too clear. Rockhill (1895, p. 679) states that Tibetan "has only one word for 'nephew' or 'niece', and this is also used for 'grandson' and 'granddaughter' [ts'a], and it has none to express 'cousin', but the word pon (spun), 'brothers' or 'sisters', is sometimes used to express this relationship". In his list of Central Tibetan kinship term, however, Rockhill gives the analytical forms akou-gi pugu (< ʾa-k'u-gyi p'rug-gu), lit. FBCh, and ane-gi pugu (< ʾa-ne-gyi p'rug-gu), lit. FSiCh, for "cousin". Schmidt cites a similar term, viz. ʾa-ne-i-bu "son of the aunt" (FSiS). Analytical terms of this type may be a feature of Central Tibetan; cf. the terms for "grandchildren" cited by Bell, viz. pu-i pu (< bu-i bu) SS, pu-i pu-mo (< bu-i bu-mo) gD (lit. SD), pu-mö pu (< bu-mo-i bu) DS, and pu-mö pu-mo (< bu-mo-i bu-mo) gD (lit. DD), rather than the standard ts'a-bo, ts'a-mo. In any event, it is clear that the ordinary sibling terms, either ws or ms, are never extended to include "cousins".

The especial affinal terms in Tibetan are not numerous and our data on them are rather meagre. The evidence indicates that the same terms are used by husband and wife. The most interesting of the lot is skud-po, a secondary formation from k'u-bo FB (vide supra), ordinarily defined as Bl,Fl. Das, however, specifies WB, and notes that in Sikkim the term is used for HyB, and Desgodins gives only "frater uxoris, levir". The term is probably more closely associated with Bl than with Fl, yet the compound term mag-skud (vide infra) means Sl and Fl, not Sl and Bl. Tibetan appears to lack any other terms for Bl or Sil. Spun is sometimes used in the sense "brothers- or sisters-in-law" (vide supra). The term p'u-nu-mo in a passage from the Dzanglun is translated by Jaeschke as Sil, yet p'u-nu is defined simply as "the elder and the younger brother, i.e. the two brothers". If Jaeschke's translation is correct, one must infer that p'u-nu and p'u-nu-mo may be extended to include affinal relatives of Ego's gen.

The two primary parents-in-law terms are gyos-po Fl and sgyug-mo Ml. The term gyos-mo Ml has probably arisen secondarily on analogy with gyos-po. Jaeschke notes that in Ladakhi "this word is rather avoided, sounding, as it is pronounced there, much like the obscene rgyo-ba" [coitus], but the nature of the substitution is not stated. Sgyug-mo rather than gyos-mo is used in compound phrases, e.g. gyos-sgyug "parents-in-law", mna-sgyug Dl and Ml. A term *skud-mo Ml, based on skud-po (supra), though lacking in the lexicons can be reconstructed on the basis of Central Tibetan gü-mo Ml, gü-po Fl (Sandberg) (in this dialect final -d regularly drops, palatalizing the preceding vowel). Lahuli uses ʾa-žang for Fl as well as for "uncle" (MB, since Lahuli also has ʾa-gu < ʾa-k'u), and a combined term ʾa-žang ʾa-ni for Ml (ʾa-ni < ʾa-ne "aunt", i.e. FSi). This

601 remarkable variation, clearly indicating cross-cousin marriage, makes it all the more regrettable that dialectical affinal terms are almost entirely unknown. Nyamskad has žak-po Bl, a loan-word from Kanauri (vide infra), also min-dok-po Bl, perhaps connected with dagh-po H.

The remaining affinal terms, mag-pa and mna-ma, are much better attested than the foregoing. Both terms are used with reference to the newly-married couple, hence mean "bridegroom" and "bride" as well as Sl and Dl. The betrothed girl, or "daughter-in-law in spe", is also termed mna-ma. The term is also applied to gSW, and Das even specifies "bride of one's younger brother". Etymologically the term may be related to mna "oath", i.e. "one who takes an oath". Tibetan possesses distinct words for "bridegroom" and "bride", however, viz. bag-po and bag-ma, respectively, perhaps connected with bag, an ill-defined root having the general connotation "reverential fear".

A number of distinct terms are employed for H and W, in addition to those noted above (ts'a-mo, bo-mo, etc.). The usual term for H is k'yo(-p'o) "man", whence k'yo-mo W, but bdag-po "proprietor, master, lord" is also used in the sense "husband, spouse, lord" (< bdag "self, I"). Jaeschke notes that ʾa-ma dag-po, or sring-mo dag-po, is "a vulgar and obscene word of abuse", apparently through implication of incest with ʾa-ma M, or sring-mo Si (ms). One's wife may be called mdun-ma (mdun "a high civil officer"), btsun-mo

60/ (btsun-pa "noble, reverend"), or c'ung-ma (c'ung "small"; cf. ma-c'ung MySi). Of greater interest is the common term bud-med "wife, spouse", also "woman". This compound word has puzzled several Tibetan scholars, including Laufer, who originally (1914) sought to derive it from bu(d) "child" + med "without" or "not", i.e. "not a child", but later (1915) recognized in the element med a true root for "woman". The analysis is not difficult in view of our remarks supra in re derived forms showing final dental morphology. One must postulate a root *me "woman, mother" parallel to *ma, and a formation bu-med parallel to bu-mad ~ bu-smad (the former in Csoma) "family, wife and children", followed by an assimilatory phonetic shift bu-med > bud-med and a semantic shift to "wife, woman".

In addition to the consanguineal and affinal terms discussed above, Tibetan has a set of terms from the so-called "respectful" language, for members of the immediate family, excluding collateral lines and relatives by marriage. These respectful words, e.g. spyan "eye" for mig, p'yag "hand" for lag-pa, are probably periphrastic in most instances, though ordinarily no analysis is possible. The respectful kinship terms, which are listed below, conform in every way to the general class of respectful words.

Classical Tibetan Respectful Terms

601

yum	M			yab	F
				gcen(-po)	oB(ms)
				gcung(-po)	yB(ms)
lcam-mo	Si(ms)	mc'ed (= spun)		dral(-po)	B(ws)
sras-mo	D			sras(-po)	S
dbon-mo	Ni,gD			dbon-po	Ne,gS

Notes:

It will be noted that the above terms form a system exactly parallel to that of the ordinary terms. Lacking are terms for oSi(ws) and ySi(ws), and for gF and gM. The former have probably never been developed - an important point, inasmuch as it reflects a distinct sister-and-sister behaviour pattern as compared with brother-and-brother. It is quite unlikely, however, that no respectful term for grandparent should have been developed. As suggested above, the regular gF term, mes-po, is best regarded as a respectful term that has displaced an original *spo-bo or *(ʾa-)po. Note the use of the term in compound phrases such as mes-dbon gF and gCh, and yab-mes F and gF, also "ancestors", and in the phrase mes rgyal-po (in Gyalrabs), lit. "grandfather king" but stated to be equivalent to "the old king".

Mc'ed, as noted above, is a derivative from c'e oSi, but the remaining respectful terms are distinct from the regular terms. Yum M may stand for rum "womb", and yab F for rab(s) "lineage". Initial y-~ r- alternation is not

601 typical for Tibetan but may occur, e.g. Schmidt cites ral-ga "branch" for yal-ga. In these two instances a shift to y- may have been initiated by the palatalizing influence of -i, a genitive case particle; thus mai rum (ma-i rum) is the common phrase for rum "womb", and pai rab(s) might stand for "father's lineage".

Gcen-po oB is a derivative of c'e-ba ~ c'en-po "great, old", and gcung-po is a parallel derivative of c'ung-ba "little, young" (the aspiration is regularly dropped after prefixed g-). The terms lcam-mo and dral-po (fully defined only in Desgodins) show a curious history. The former, often written p'yam or even k'yam (both are pronounced c'am in modern dialects), is connected with lcam "lath, pole, rafter, spar of a roof", and the latter with gral-ma "a small beam, rafter", from gral "row, series, class", i.e. "things in a row". Dral is a variant of gral, the initial dr- ~ gr- alternation in Tibetan being rather well attested, e.g. 'dril-ba ~ 'gril-ba "to be turned around, twisted". The compound phrase lcam-dral, also mc'ed-lcam-dral, defined as B and Si, is matched by gral-p'yam (= gral-lcam) "roof-laths". Cf. also the respectful term gdung, for rus-pa "lineage", where gdung-ma means "beam, piece of timber". The metaphor involved in this bit of constructional terminology is that of a series of siblings arrayed in proper order; cf. the semantic development of ts'an (supra) in the sense "series, order, class".

601 The two remaining terms, sras and dbon, are scarcely analyzable. Sras may originally have stood for "fruit"; cf. sra-ba ~ sran-pa "hard, firm, solid, compact", and sran-ma, srad-ma "pease, lentils", also "grain", and Lushei (Kuki group) ra^3 < *ras "fruit". Tibetan 'bras "rice", 'bras-bu "fruit, grain" (bu "son"), may also be from this root (*ras, *s-ras, *b-ras).

Within the Tibetan dialects proper, the maximum amount of specialization is found in the archaic Western dialect, Balti. The Balti terms are as follows:

Balti Consanguineal Terms

a-pi	gM	a-po	gF
a-ngo a-ma si-si	M	a-ta ba-wa (resp.)	F
ne-ne	FSi	mo-mo	MB
a-ngo ts'ar-ma	MoSi	a-ta ts'ar-ma	FoB
a-ngo tsun-tse	MySi	a-ta tsun-tse	FyB
a-če	oSi(ws)	ka-ka	oB(ms)
no-ngo	ySi(ws)	no	yB(ms)
string-mo	Si(ms)	ming-po	B(ws)
bo-ngo	D	bu	S
ts'a-ngo	gD	ts'o	gS

601 Notes:

The above table has been completed in part by inference, in part by correction. Austen's work is especially careless, e.g. the columns are reversed on p. 260. Austen cites a-ngo tsun-tse as FSi, following a-ta(h) tsun-tse FB, and ne-ne as MSi, following mo-mo MB, whereas a-ngo tsun-tse can mean only "little mother (a-ngo)" and ne-ne stands for Classical ne-ne-mo FSi. The term a-ngo tsun-tse is interpreted as MySi, and a correlative term *a-ngo ts'ar-ma MoSi is added, on the analogy of a-ta ts'ar-ma and a-ta tsun-tse. Similarly, a-če and no-ngo are defined as women's terms, hence string-mo is interpreted as a man's term, and the terms for B, viz. ka-ka, no, and ming-po (Austen ming-mo), are interpreted analogically. The system thus reconstructed is consistent throughout, and may with some confidence be regarded as correct. The collateral and affinal terms are not known. Austen cites nes-po ggF (cf. mes-po) and a-si (assi) ggM (cf. zi-zi M).

The most notable differences in the Balti system are the use of combined terms showing age distinctions for MSi and FB (i.e., parent's siblings of same sex), and the appearance of dialectical terms for gF (a-po) and F (a-ta) and of Indic loan-words for MB (mo-mo) and oB (ka-ka). Note that these distinct terms refer exclusively to male relatives, indicating that the terminology for female relatives is relatively stable. On the phonetic side, the

Balti

601 feminine ending -ngo has been developed from -mo (cf. bya-ngo "hen" for Classical bya-mo), whence a-ngo < a-ma through analogy (a-ma must be considered a literary form), while ts'o gS stands for ts'a-wo < ts'a-bo. The term no yB for nu(-bo) represents a significant dialectical divergence which establishes the connection of the term with the Tibeto-Burman root *nau.

We are now in a position to point out the essential features of the Tibetan terminology. The paternal and maternal lines are merged in the two primary grandparent terms. In contrast, there are four primary terms for "uncle" and "aunt", but with some tendency to substitute combined terms showing age distinctions, especially in West Tibetan. The speaker's sex is distinguished in the sibling terms, in which the cross terms without age distinctions (sring-mo and ming-po) are opposed to the parallel terms with age distinctions (o'e and nu-ma, p'u and nu-bo). There are primary neuter terms for younger sibling (nu ~ no), child (bu), and grandchild, nephew (ts'a). There is a serial equation in ts'a N,gCh, and indications that ts'a and ('a-)žang were originally reciprocal terms for SiS and MB. Collective terms showing final dental morphology are applied to especial groupings of relatives, and two of these (ts'an, spun) are extended to include collateral relatives (cousins), whereas the ordinary sibling terms are never extended in this manner.

601 Categorical equations are shown by skud-po Fl,Bl, developed from k'u-bo FB, and by 'a-ne (ma-ne-mo) FSi,MBW. Finally, Tibetan has a fairly full set of respectful terms, which exactly parallel the ordinary kinship terms.

As noted above, our information on Tibetan marriage regulation and clan organization is relatively meagre. The best accounts are those given by Francke, which refer to Ladakh, in western Tibet. His account of the *pha*-*spun*-ship is of especial interest:

> The individuality of a Tibetan is fixed by three names: (1) by his personal name, (2) by his house name, (3) by his clan name. The latter name is the name of the *pha*-*spun*-ship ("father-brothership") to which he belongs.....the *pha*-*spun*-ship is an exogamic institution, i.e. a boy of a certain *pha*-*spun*-ship is not allowed to marry a girl of the same *pha*-*spun*-ship" (1914, 47-48).

The *pha*-*spun*-ship thus appears to be a patrilineal exogamic clan (gens). Francke (1904, 364-65) describes in some detail the organization in Khalatse, a Ladakhi town. Here there are four *pha*-*spun*-ships, with a variable number of families in each (9, 6, 3, 2), as well as three families that do not belong to any *pha*-*spun*-ship. Francke shows that the two largest *pha*-*spun*-ships are of Dard origin, e.g. one is named Pakorapa < Dard pakor "meadow". Francke (1914), apparently basing his remarks on observations by Lyall, notes that there are six of these gens in Spiti (west-central Tibet), where they are called *rus*-*pa*. The Spiti *rus*-*pa* have indigenous names, e.g. rgya-zhing-pa "large field owners", blon-chen-pa "great ministers", etc. The functions of the

601 pha-spun or rus-pa are not described in any detail, though Francke (1914) notes that the Ladakhi pha-spun-ship has charge of the cremation of the dead and the erection of memorials (mchod-rten).

The term pha-spun (p'a-spun), which has already been discussed, is not generally used in the sense of "clan" or "lineage", but rus(-pa) is well known in the general meaning "lineage, family". An important account of the rus-pa is contained in the work of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, an early 18th century traveller in Tibet, who supplied the Western world with its first complete description of that country. For a good general account, see Wessels (Chap. VII, 205-72). Desideri's "Relations" have been translated by Puini and Filippi, and some of his letters and papers by Hoosten. The following extract is from Filippi's translation (p. 192):

> The Thibettans recognize two classes of kinship. The first are called relations of the Rupa-cik, or of the same bone; the second, relations of the Scia-cik, or of the same blood. They recognize, as relations of Rupa-cik, or the same bone, those who descend from a common ancestor, however remote, even when they have been divided into different branches during many generations. Relations of the Scia-cik, or the same blood, are those created by legitimate marriages. The first, though it may be exceedingly distant, is looked upon as an absolute and inviolable bar to matrimony, and any intercourse between two relations of the Rupa-cik, or of the same bone, is regarded as incestuous, and they are shunned and loathed by everyone. The second is also a bar to marriage in the first degree of relationship; thus an uncle may not marry his niece, but marriages [sic] with a first cousin on the mother's side is allowed, and frequently occurs.

Puini's translation is much freer, e.g. scia-cik is translated as "d'una medisma carne" with a view to the

Tibetan original (ša "flesh"), and the last phrase of the extract runs thus: ma è molto frequente il congiugersi insieme in matrimonio d'un fratello cugino con una sorella cugina (i.e. cousins in general).

Desideri's use of the term *rupa-cik*· (Central Tibetan rü-cig-pa, West Tibetan rus-pa cig-cig) for "lineage" is in accord with general Tibetan practice, but the application of scia-cig (Italian scia = ša) to an affinal grouping is not so readily understood. The word ša "flesh" is generally used only in its literal signification, but Csoma uses the compound ša-k'rag ("flesh-blood") with reference to children born of the same parents, and Jaeschke cites from Gyelrabs the phrase ša-nas c'ad-pa bu "the child of my own flesh and blood", lit. "flesh-begotten-child". Ahmed Shah (p. 53) states that Tibetan children swear by their mother's flesh (ʼa-ma ša, written ame-she by Shah). Of paramount importance is Desideri's statement regarding cousin-marriage on the mother's side (we assume that Filippi's more precise translation is correct), which may safely be interpreted as the typical SiS and BD cross-cousin marriage.

Most of our authorities on Tibet stress the exogamous nature of Tibetan marriage regulations but without specifying whether the paternal or the maternal lineage, or both is used for reckoning. Thus Grenard:

> Tibetan marriage is exogamous: marriages do not take place within the fourth degree of consanguinity and the nomad chiefs have to marry outside their clan. (p. 257)

Cf. the statements by Rockhill *in re* the eastern nomads:

> The offspring from the polyandrous marriages treat as father whomever their mother teaches them to recognize by that name; the other husbands are the children's 'uncles'. Family names are unknown in Tibet, and children are spoken of as of such and such a woman; hardly ever is the father's name mentioned. (1891, p. 212)

> .....all the members of a clan have no family name except that of the chief or clan which is prefixed to their own......While a man may marry a woman of his own tribal name or one of another, he may not marry a relative within at least three degrees, and chiefs do not marry, I think, in their clans. (1895, p. 678)

Grenard's account seems to be over-generalized and in general based on secondary sources of an unreliable nature. He describes a gens organization of patriarchal type showing great solidarity, but identifies this as the *brgyud* rather than the *rus-pa*. The former term, however, belongs in a distinct category along with *rigs* and *rabs*, all used of "lineage" in a rather general sense. Grenard does make one interesting statement, however, viz.

> Tibetan polyandry has no kind of relation with matriarchism: it is only a form of patriarchism no less absolute than the Chinese or Roman form. Those who imagine that polyandry marks a transition between matriarchism and patriarchism might lay stress, in support of their theory, that in Tibet, or at least, in several parts of that country, the consent of the brother of a girl's mother is required before she can be given in marriage. (p. 262)

For the role of MB described by Grenard, cf. the translation by de Roerich (pp. 71-74) of a Lahuli wedding ceremony text, which reads in part: "the uncle (^{2}a-žang) declares that he will give the girl in marriage". This role of MB acquires additional significance when it is recalled that in Lahuli ^{2}a-žang is used both for MB and for Fl (vide supra).

Sikkim

601 [101] For only one group of modern Tibetans do we have any direct evidence for cross-cousin marriage. This is the group of Tibetan immigrants into Sikkim, or the "Bhotias of Sikkim" (the dialect is termed Dänjongkä), described by O'Malley in the following terms:

> The rules regulating cousin marriage among the Bhotias of Sikkim are probably connected with the institution of fraternal polyandry. There it is not considered right that a man should marry his cousin on the father's side, though recently there have been a few cases where a man had married his father's sister's daughter. He may marry his cousin on his mother's side, whether the daughter of his mother's brother or of his mother's sister. The reason given is that the bone descends from the father's side and the flesh from the mother's. Should cousins on the paternal side marry, it is said that the bone is pierced, resulting in course of time in various infirmities. (p. 326)

As is usually true of census reports, the source of information is not stated by the compiler (O'Malley), and the inclusion of mother's sister's daughter as a potential spouse makes the whole statement somewhat suspect. A partial confirmation is afforded, however, by a statement en passant made by Gorer (Himalayan Village, p. 163):

> The Lepchas of Zongu themselves are culturally tolerant and know that their neighbours have different rules of conduct; for example the Tibetans forbid the marriage of aunt and nephew, but both they and the Nepali permit the marriage of first cousins which for the Lepchas is the most horrifying form of incest.

Since Gorer worked among the Lepchas of Sikkim, it may be assumed that this reference is to the Tibetans of Sikkim.

The rather long account of the Sikkim Tibetans by Earle (in Gait), however, does not mention the existence of cross-cousin marriage, yet does not preclude the possibility of it.

23: Benedict E-5 (no date) 1941 All Southeast Asia
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Sikkim

601 Earle describes clans that are imperfectly exogamous:

> But marriages occasionally occur within the clan, if the parties are removed by at least seven or more generations. The children take the clan name of the father, which is the same as that of the group of brothers. (p. xxvii).

The phrase "group of brothers" refers to the polyandrous group married to a single woman. Earle notes that both the fraternal and maternal cousins can be admitted as members of this group of brothers, but only if the husband proper (i.e. the eldest brother) agrees and has no brothers of his own. According to the same authority, there is no regular system of brother-sister exchange, but sometimes after the eldest sister has been married to a group of brothers, her younger sister will marry one of the younger brothers and this younger couple will set up a household of their own. Cf. the marriage practices of the Lepcha (pt. 5). In view of the great emphasis on age distinctions, the full significance of the semantic developments spun < p'u(-bo), mc'ed < (a-)c'e becomes apparent.

Two native Tibetans have given us accounts of their own customs, but without clarifying matters. Dorje Zödba (vide C. A. Combe) states (p. 59) that "the child bears no relation to its parents, so surnames do not exist", and Rin-chen lha-mo similarly states (p. 136) that "Surnames in the sense in which you use them do not obtain in Tibet. If we want to know who somebody is we ask of what house is his father and of what his mother". The same authoress

601 further relates (p. 130) that "Tibetan ideas on marriage are strict, you cannot marry a cousin or any relative, even the most distant".

The interpretation of the Tibetan kinship terminology appears to require the postulation of cousin-marriage, which apparently is not generally permitted at the present time but which may have been in vogue as late as the 18th century (Desideri). The practice of polyandry or polygyny (vide the accounts in Bell, Puini, et al.) suffices to explain only some of the more superficial features of the system, especially in Western Tibet. As noted above, one categorical equation is found in ʾa-ne (ne-ne-mo) FSi,MBW, indicative of cross-cousin marriage. This term has undergone extensive semantic specialization, however; thus Das defines it as FBW, and in West Tibetan it is used for "wife" (vide supra). The development may have been FSi > "wife" (through analogy with a-ku FB) > FBW, MBW (i.e. wife of any uncle). The affinal terms used in Lahuli, however, offer direct evidence for cross-cousin marriage, viz. ʾa-žang MB,Fl and ʾa-žang ʾa-ni Ml (ʾa-ni FSi), the former being properly a husband's term (mother's brother equated with wife's father), the latter a wife's term (father's sister equated with husband's mother). The Classical Tibetan term skud-po Fl,Bl, a collective formed from k'u-bo FB, also certainly equates affinal and collateral relatives, but in this instance FB rather than MB is involved. It is entirely unlikely, in view of the Tibetan *rus-pa* and *pha-spun* organization, that

601 marriage should ever have been countenanced between the offspring of brothers (parallel cousins on the father's side). Nor can we disregard the linguistic relationship of skud-po to k'u-bo, however unlikely it may seem to the student unacquainted with Tibetan morphology. We are faced with the alternatives of explaining skud-po in terms of an analogical development from k'u-bo, or assigning to k'u-bo the original meaning MB, whence skud-po Fl as a result of cross-cousin marriage. No choice of alternatives will be made until the other Tibeto-Burman terminologies have been analyzed.

The other major problem presented by the Tibetan terminology is the serial-lineal equation shown by ts'a N,gCh. In the discussion of this term above it was shown that its semantic associations in general are with bu Ch, e.g. in the combined term bu-ts'a S, and Lahuli ts[illegible]-mo D, paralleling West Tibetan bo-mo (bu-mo). It was further pointed out that the well-established compound phrases ts'a-žang and žang-ts'a, as contrasted with k'u-ts'an in which the collective term ts'an is employed, indicate a close linking of the two terms. The basic meaning of ts'a may actually be "man's child through his nearest female consanguineal relatives" (sister, daughter), thus accounting for the serial equation (sister's child, daughter's child) as well as the lineal. The term bu, on the other hand, is applied to "child of the nearest female affinal relative (wife)", i.e. to a man's own child. Jaeschke even notes that bu is used "esp. in reference to the mother", and compound phrases such as ma-bu, bu-smad (vide supra), in conjunction with the lack of any comparable phrases involving p'a and bu, support his observation. From a general point of view, therefore, bu may be regarded as "child of a woman", ts'a as "child of a man through his nearest female consanguineal relatives".

The semantic associations of some of the Tibetan terms are of interest. The term žang MB is commonly used in titles in early Tibetan texts, e.g. žang-žang, rgya-žang ("chief-uncle"), žang-long ("councillor"), žang-blon "a kind of title given to a minister" (Gyalrabs) (vide Francke 1914a, Thomas). The term is so frequently employed that the earlier students of the bilingual Tibetan-Chinese inscriptions sought to identify it as a transliteration of the Chinese title źiang (尚). Francke compares it with the term a-gu "uncle" used as a title of heroes in the Kesar-saga (cf. our remarks supra on West Tibetan a-ku, a-gu). Francke comments (1914a, p. 43) "In the old days it was apparently customary to call a superior by a familiar name".

The terms k'u-bo FB, skud-po Fl,Bl may be compared with gus-pa "respect, reverence, devotion", and p'u-bo oB(ms) with p'u-dud "honour, respect, esteem" (dud prob. for 'dud-pa "to make a bow") and its derivative spun with p'un(-sum)-ts'ogs-pa "perfect, complete". A different type of behaviour is

601 indicated by srun-pa "calm, soft, mild; gentleness, meekness" (sru MSi). These remarks should be compared with those on Chinese (Section B).

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Our knowledge of the kinship terminolpgy of related languages in the Bodish group, viz. Murmi, Gurung, Tsengla (Nepal-Bhutan area), and Gyarung (Tibeto-Chinese area), though fragmentary, is sufficient to show that they employ widely different terms. Murmi and Gurung (vide A. Campbell and the LSI) have ja S, ja-me D (but Gurung ca-me "woman"), a widespread variant form of the root represented also by Tibetan ts'a. Note also Murmi ma-ring, Gurung mi-ring "woman", perhaps a compound of *mi or *ma "woman, mother" (Murmi has a-mi M) and *ring; cf. Tibetan sring Si(ma). The sibling terms are unusual: Murmi jyo-jyo oB (cf. Tib. jo-jo), a-la yB (Gurung a-li), na-na eSi (cf. Tib. mna), a-nga ySi (Gurung id.).

According to Risley, the Gurung are organized into two endogamous castes and a number of septs. The same writer ascribes exogamous descent-groups to the Murmi:

> The form of exogamy observed is the simple one that a man may not marry a woman of his own *thar*. For the rest marriage is regulated by the standard formula *mamera*, *chachera*, etc., calculated to seven generations in the descending line. In the case of descent through females these prohibitions are not strictly observed, and public opinion does not disapprove of marriages with tolerably near relatives, provided that the primary rule of marrying outside the *thar* is not departed from.

Bhutan

601 Risley's observations indicate that cross-cousin marriage may be permissible or even normal among the Murmi, but our lack of knowledge of Murmi affinal terms precludes the possibility of any check on this point.

The Tsangla terms are as follows (Stabk, Robinson):

Tsangla Consanguineal Terms

		me-mi	gF
(a-)ma	M	(a-)pa	F
(a-)nye	FSi	(a-)cung	FB
(a-)zim	MSi	(a-)jim	MB
(a-)no	oSi	(a-)ta	oB
nan-ying	ySi	bőn-ying	yB
za-min nyi-min	D	za	S

Notes:

The grouping of terms is similar to that in Tibetan, and several terms are held in common (me-mi, also mi-me, gF; cf. Tib. mes-po, Coll. me-me; a-ma M, a-pa F, a-nye FSi). A-cung FB (defined only as "uncle", but FB by inference) may really mean FyB and be connected with Tib. c'ung-ba "small" (cf. Tib. ma-c'ung), while a-zim MSi and a-jim MB may represent a single term for MSb. A similar alternation is found in za S, also ža and even ja in ja-min D (Robinson). Note that this term is used as in Gurung and Murmi rather than as in Tibetan. The analysis of the sibling terms is uncertain. For the use of a-ta as oB rather than as F, cf. Das' equation of ʼa-ta with ʼa-jo oB (supra), as well as Schmidt's equation of ʼa-bo (for ʼa-po gF) with ʼa-jo (supra).

The Gyarung dialects, spoken in western Szechuan, have been recorded by Hodgson, von Rosthorn, Wolfenden, and Edgar, the last three of whom cite a number of kinship terms. The material is scattered, however, and dialectical divergences add to the difficulties of analysis, hence it is not feasible to draw up a table of Gyarung terms.

The grandparent terms are not known. Von Rosthorn cites the vocative terms a-wu "old man" and a-pi "old woman". The former may stand for a-wa; cf. go-mu < *ma M, ko-mu < *k-nga "5", while the latter is cognate with Tib. (ʼa-)p'yi gM. Wolfenden gives a-ta-ta and ta-ta for F, a-ma and mai for M (Tib. ʼa-ta, ʼa-ma). The root *me "woman", reconstructed above on the basis of Tib. bud-med, is represented by Gyarung (te-)mi. Gyarung has -i for Tib. -e in most dialects, but -e is retained in the Pati dialect, as shown in the following table:

	Tibetan	Gyarung	
		Wassu dialect	Pati dialect
fire	me	(te-)mi	(te-)me
FSi	(ʼa-)ne	(a-)ni	-
woman	-me(d)	(te-)mi	(te-)me

As in Tsangla, a-ni FSi (in von Rosthorn; Edgar "aunt") is the only "aunt" or "uncle" term with a direct Tib. cognate. Edgar gives war p'u " uncle", probably for wa r-p'u (cf. Tib. p'u-bo oB).

Bhutan

601 The sibling terms are puzzling, though age distinctions are in evidence. Wolfenden cites ko-ko oB, ce-ce oSi, which are loan-words from modern Chinese (Mandarin ko-ko 哥哥 oB, chieh-chieh 姐姐 oSi), also ne-c'i yB and ne-c'i mŏ-pŏ ySi (mŏ-pŏ "female"). Similarly, Edgar has (ti-)mi g-ti oSi (g-ti "big") and (ti-)mi ki g-tsei ySi (ku-tsei "small", wa bli ki g-tsei "young"), and von Rosthorn has ngai oB, nga-ci yB. Von Rosthorn also cites a-zie oB for the Mup'ing dialect, while Wolfenden gives ai-zi (in text) as a vocative term for oB. Edgar also has (ti-)snom Si, perhaps for *snam; cf. mi-nom "to smell", Tib. m-nam-pa. In view of the distinct terms for oSi and ySi (supra), it may be inferred that this is the man's term, comparable with Tib. sring-mo.

The element -c'i, -ci found in the terms for yB and ySi (supra) is found isolated in c'i, also ka-ci, S, with adjectival ka-, as in ka-tsai "small, child" (Edgar ku-tsei), ka-woi "old". The term a-cie Ch in von Rosthorn is connected with te-ciĕ "young" and the term ka-tse Ch cited by Wolfenden. Gyarung (ta-)pu, (ta-)pŏ S,Ch, (ti-)mi pu "girl", mi tsa-pu D, contain an element *pu cognate with Tib. bu Ch. Edgar also gives (ti-)b tsei Ne, probatly for (ti-)bu tsei, and (ti-)mi tsoi Ni; cf. the sibling terms.

The Tibetan terms mna-ma and mag-pa, used both for Dl,Sl and "bride and bridegroom", are paralleled by Gyarung žab-pye Dl, also "bride" (in žab-pye ko-kro "to marry", i.e. "to take

601 a bride"; Edgar cites žabs-pye "bride"). This term is perhaps from Tibetan žabs-p'yi "servant, retinue". For "bridegroom" Edgar cites ki-c'i, perhaps connected with ka-ci or c'i "son" (Wolfenden).

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Kanauri

3. The Western Sub-Himalayas

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The languages of the Western sub-Himalayas constitute a single linguistic bloc (Himalayish) of the Tibeto-Burman family. Both morphologically and lexically they stand closer to Tibetan (Bodish) than to the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, Assam, and Burma. Their complex pronominal system and their use of a vigesimal system of counting led Grierson and Konow (in the LSI) to posit a Munda substratum, and this view has become almost a dogma with later writers. These features are paralleled elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman, however, and the general hypothesis should be abandoned. The languages of this group show a number of peculiar phonetic features which have as yet been only imperfectly analyzed, hence our discussion is incomplete in some respects. On the lexical side, they have borrowed rather freely from Indic, and a number of these loan-words appear in the kinship terms cited below.

The Himalayish languages fall into two broad subdivisions, one of which is represented by Kanauri in the Kanawar State, United Provinces, the other by the languages of Almora State (Rangkas, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, Byangsi). The Kanauri group includes Kanauri (Lower and Upper dialects), Chitkhuli, Thebor, Kanashi, Bunan, Manchati, and Chamba Lahuli (the order of listing gives the approximate degree of affinity with Kanauri). Of these languages, Kanauri is by far the best known. The Kanauri terms in the following

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197 table have been excerpted from the works of Tika Ram Joshi, Bailey, Gerard, and the two Cunninghams.

Kanauri Consanguineal Terms

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(a-)yo ggM	
te-go FM,MM	te-te FF,MF
(a-)pi MM	me-me FF
maum M	boum F
(a-)ma M,MSi	{(a-)pa {bo-ba F
(a-)mots MSi	{(a-)pats {bo-bats FB
{(a-)ne {ne-ne FSi,MBW	ma-ma MB,FSiH
{(a-)pu {dam eSi	{(a-)te {(a-)ce eB
byats ySi	{baya(bya) {baits {bai yB
rings Si	
ei-med D,BD	e'ang S,BS
bamu MBD,SiD	bamsa MBS,SiS
mönth spats gD spats gCh	skyo spats gS

Kanauri Affinal Terms

yu-med Ml	ru Fl
bore W,HSi,BW(ws)	✓ sak-po WB,SiH(ms)
boesa HB,WSi,SiH(ws),BW(ms)	
sten(ten) Dl	e'ad Sl

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601 Notes:

The basic grandparent terms seem to be te-te and te-go. The terms me-me (cited by Bailey as Upper Kanauri) and a-pi, which means "midwife" as well as MM, may be loan-words from Tib. mes-po (Coll. me-me) and a-p'yi ~ a-pi. An additional Upper Kanauri term, ai gM, is cited by Joshi. Gerard distinguishes between te-te FF, te-go FM, and bu-dui MF, bu-di MM (perhaps only a single term), while J. D. Cunningham cites both te-te(h) and me-me(h) for gF, te(h)-go and a-pi for gM. It is likely, therefore, that in some Kanauri dialects, at any rate, the ascendant lines are partially or completely distinguished in the grandparent terms. The ggF term corresponding to a-yo ggM is not known.

Of the two sets of parent terms, a-ma and a-pa are basic, while mann F and bonn M (both with short vowels) may be collectives derived from ma + n and bo + n, comparable with Tib. span, spun. The root *bo thus reconstructed can be used to explain bo-ba (also bo-wa, ba-ba, ba-wa, bau) F, but this may have been influenced by Ind. bābu (Joshi gives ba-wa and ban rather than bo-wa and bonn). The term mann is also found in mönth (Bailey), manth, mants (Joshi) "female" and mönringz "woman" (-th is a form of -ts, the diminutive suffix; cf. yang ~ yangth "fly, bee"). The latter term is thus composed of man M and ringz Si (vide infra).

The term a-mats MSi (defined in Bailey only as SiL of F) is formed with the diminutive suffix -ts, as are a-pats and

601 bo-bats FB. They represent a type of extension of M and F terms, which appears in pure form in a-ma M,MSi (Bailey) and ba-ba FB (J. D. Cunningham). Gerard cites a-ku FB, and Joshi has a-ku "uncle", but one must suspect that this is a loan-word from Tib. a-k'u ~ a-ku FB. On the other hand, a-ne ~ na-ne FSi,MBW is best regarded as original. The problem of determining the status of terms of this sort is a delicate, one in which the general linguistic setting must be taken into account. Thus, mo-ma (Joshi ma-ma) MB would seem to be a loan-word from Ind. māmā, id., yet the vocalism presents something of a problem, especially in view of Balti mo-mo (vide supra). Joshi, however, cites ma-ma MB, ma-mi MBW, a typically Indic and utterly non-Kanauri gender distinction, hence mo-ma can safely be regarded as an Indic loan-word, with a strong inference that Balti mo-mo is of similar origin.

In the sibling terms, bai yB (diminutive baits) is a loan-word from Ind. bhai B, while beya (or bya) includes an element -ya found also in (a-)ya-nöng "infant". The form bya has given rise to byats ySi (only in Gerard and A. Cunningham). For the connection between a-te oB and te-te gF, cf. the remarks supra on Tsangla a-ta oB, Tib. a-ta F. The term a-co oB (only in Gerard and A. Cunningham) is probably a loan-word from Tib. a-jo. Gerard cites the compound term ate-bya in the general meaning "relations". The term rings Si, with a suffixed -s which may be merely a

601 sonant form of the diminutive suffix -ts, is defined as ySi in the LSI (a meaning also held by Tib. sring in the Sikkim and Nyamskad dialects) but as oSi by Gerard. It is the direct cognate of Tib. sring(-mo) Si(ms); cf. the Kanauri alternation in kyo ~ skyo "male", tem ~ stem Dl, til ~ stil "gums", kar ~ skar "star" (Tib. skar-ma), gui ~ sgui "9" (Tib. dgu), but there is no evidence to suggest that it is a man's term. The terms for oSi are not well attested. For a-pu oSi (Gerard), cf. Tib. p'u(-bo) oB. Dau oSi (LSI) is represented in the Lower Kanauri dialect (Bailey, 1920) by das oSi. This dialect also has a-te oB, and baits ~ bhaets yB,ySi, as well as rings Si. In addition to the above Kanauri also has the two curious terms nuzbaz "full brother", nunnazig "full sister" (Joshi nun-nazik "sisters one to another"). These words seem to contain an element *nu; cf. nuni "breast", Tib. nu-ma "breast", nu ~ no "younger sibling".

The Kanauri terms for Ch and gCh are of unusual type. The root *c'ang Ch,S (c'angts "infant") appears also in mor-c'ang "man (vir)", while ci-med D is formed from an element *ci and a feminine suffix -med < *me + d (Tib. bud-med). The morphological nature of the final -d is clearly revealed in Kanauri, which has -mets < *me + ts as its regular feminine suffix, and alternates between ci-me and ci-med(t) D, also yu-me and yu-med Ml. The element *ci appears in Chitkhuli (aberrant Kanauri dialect) a-ci "boy", and the

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601 compound ci-sang " girl" cited by J. D. Cunningham, perhaps also in pa-ji ~ pan-ji S, cited by Joshi as a Sumcho dialectical form. Both c'ang and ci-med are extended to include BD and BS, whence one can infer that they are used for pN in general. The terms banu (also banuts) and bansa (also banzats; Joshi benjo), applied to cross C and N on the maternal side, are Indic loan-words. The term spats gCh, with -ts diminutive suffix, appears to contain the root *pa F; cf. Tib. spad.

The affinal terms are entirely distinct from those used in Tibetan. Yu-med Ml contains the suffix -med discussed above, but *yu is a new element, perhaps connected with Chitkhuli dyu-cang "girl, woman". Ru Fl must be compared with Tib. sru(-mo) MSi; cf. Kanauri ringz Si, Tib. sring(-mo), etc., but a semantic connection is not easily established. Similarly, c'ad Sl can be derived from *c'a + d and thus compared with Tib. ts'a N,gCh, but again there is a semantic discrepancy. As shown above, Tib. ts'a may have originally been applied to the SiS in relation to MB. Under cross-cousin marriage SiS becomes Sl to MB, hence c'ad perhaps represents a formation analogous to Tib. skud-po. Under the same marriage system MB becomes Fl to SiS, and thus ru Fl can be related to Tib. sru MSi by postulating a shift from MSi to MB, or perhaps an archaic root *sru MSb. Kanauri stem ~ tem Dl may be from *snem; cf. sting "heart", Tib. snying; stil ~ til "gum (of tooth)", Tib. snyil. For the root thus reconstructed, cf. Gyarung snom < *snam Si.

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601 The Kanauri Bl and Sil terms distinguish sex of speaker, viz. žak-po Bl(ms), bore Sil(ws), basam Bl(ws), Sil(ms). The latter two terms are phonetically not of Kanauri type, and may be Indic loan-words; cf. the affinal terms bo eBW, bauri SW,yBW, borrowed by Johar (Almora group, infra) from the neighboring Indic language, Khasiya (note that bore is also defined as "wife"). The regular Kanauri terms for "wife" are also of Indic origin, viz. mar and gone (cf. Assamese ghaini). Kanauri dats H, however, seems to be of native origin, from the root *da "he" and the diminutive suffix -ts.

Joshi cites an additional Sl term, viz. mak-pa "a son-in-law who lives entirely in his father-in-law's house", and appends the note (p. 100) that "In Tibet and Kanawar it is the custom to adopt a son-in-law as a son, when there is no male heir". The term itself is unquestionably a loan-word from Tib. mag-pa Sl, but has acquired a specific connotation unknown in the Tibetan prototype.

The Thebor terms, given by Gerard and the Cunninghams, show a general agreement with Kanauri. There are only two grandparent terms (me-me gF, a-pi gM). The three aunt-uncle terms cited by Gerard, viz. a-ku FB, a-žang MB, a-ne FSi, are of the Tibetan variety. J. D. Cunningham cites ai-pa FB, and Bailey in his Kanauri glossary cites a'i-ma MSi as a Thebor form. These terms are clearly derivatives of *pa F

601 and *ma M, in combination with the Kanauri-Chitkhuli element *ci "child" or "small", and hence are analogous to Kanauri a-mats and a-pats. The sibling terms show age distinctions, viz. a-co oB, bya yB (as in Kanauri), šing oSi (as in Kanauri by Gerard), be-te ySi (Gerard), but beste(h) B (J. D. Cunningham); cf. Kanauri a-te oB. The form šing oSi, though identical with that found in many modern Tibetan dialects, is not evidence of borrowing, since š- < sr- is regular for Thebör; cf. šang < *srang "horse", šing < *sring "to live". Thebor man "female" is cognate with Kanauri mann M. The children terms are p'asli cang S (p'asli ~ p'asri "male"), and csri-cang ~ sri-cang D (csri ~ sri "woman"). The only affinal terms known are šak-po Bl (as in Kanauri), co-ga H, and yo-lat W.

We have even scantier data on the kinship terms of the remaining languages of Kanauri type, viz. Kanashi (in the LSI), Bunan (Jaeschke and the LSI), Manchati (Francke and the LSI), and Chamba Lahuli (Bailey, 1908). Manchati, Kanashi, and Chamba Lahuli all have ya M (cf. Kanauri yas W), ba F, but Bunan has a-ma M, a-wa F. Chamba Lahuli co-jo ba FyB, lit. "little father", exactly corresponds to Balti a-ta tsun-tse (supra). Bunan and Manchati have the Tibetan term, a-gu "uncle" (LSI, p. 470 in sentence no. 225). All four languages show age distinctions in the B terms but not in the Si terms, viz. Bunan a-c'e oB (Tib. a-jo, Kanauri a-co), bed yB (probably be+d), šring Si; Kanashi

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601 bau oB, bhoiyts yB (Kanauri baits), rings Si; Manchati ka-ka oB, no-a yB, hring Si; Chamba Lahuli kag < ka-ga oB, nu-a yB, hrĩ Si (cf. Balti ka-ka oB, no yB). For the phonetic treatment of *sring Si, cf. that shown in *srang "horse":

	Bunan	Kanashi	Manchati	Chamba Lahuli
sister	šring	rings	hring	hrĩ
horse	šrangs	rang	hrang	hrã

A root *yo Ch is represented by Manchati yo S, mi-yo (Francke), me-o < me-yo (LSI) D; Chamba Lahuli yo S, mil-yo D; cf. Kanauri a-yo ggM. Bunan has tsi-tsi Ch (Kanauri *ci), bu-ts'a S (Tibetan loan-word), and tse-med D, while Kanashi has c'anga Ch (Kanauri c'ang), c'e S, and ci-me D (Kanauri ci-med ~ ci-me). The root *me "woman" is represented by Manchati me-tsi-mi "woman", me-tse "wife"; Chamba Lahuli mez "wife", mez-mi "woman", and me "bitch", lit. "mother(-dog)", cf. ba "male dog", lit. "father(-dog)" (but k'ui "dog" as generic term). Kanashi c'ets "wife" is cognate with Kanauri c'ets "female, woman", ts'ets'ats "girl", ts'esmi "woman"; cf. Tib. ʾa-c'e oSi.

Affinal terms are represented by Bunan mag " bridegroom" (loan-word from Tibetan mag-pa) and yug Ml (loan-word from Tibetan sgyug-mo), as well as by Chamba Lahuli ru Fl. The form here should be *hru rather than ru, on the assumption of a derivation from a root *sru (vide supra); cf. Chamba Lahuli hrĩ < *sring Si, hrã < *srang "horse", hence ru may be a Kanauri loan-word.

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In review, the Kanauri group exhibits a number of new terminological features as compared with Tibetan. There is a tendency to distinguish between paternal and maternal grandparent terms, perhaps with the help of Tibetan loanwords (me-me and a-pi). The M and F terms tend to be extended, especially in the form of diminutives (Kanauri a-mats and a-pats, bo-bats; Thebor c'i-ma and ci-pa), and c'ang S, ci-med D are extended to include pN. Age distinctions are more commonly expressed in the B terms than in the Sl terms, and the sex of speaker seems not to be distinguished. New or unusual roots include te-te gF and a-te oB (cf. Tibetan a-ta), ya M, ci Ch (cf. Gyarung c'i) and yo Ch, c'ang S. The affinal terms are altogether distinct from the Tibetan, and show a new distinction of speaker's sex in the Bl, Sl terms.

The sharp distinction drawn between the cross and parallel collateral lines is another Kanauri feature. If the analysis of ru Fl and c'ad Sl (supra) is correct, the practice of cross-cousin marriage is indicated for an earlier period, while the categorical equations in a-ne ~ na-ne FSl,MBW, and mo-ma ~ ma-ma MB,FSlH point in the same direction. This type of marriage is known to occur in the Almora group of Himalayish (infra), but the little information on Kanauri that we possess is of no help in this connection. The section on Kanauri in the census report by Rose (pp. 221-22), which is in the main

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601 based on a report by G. G. Minniken, includes a description of a system of fraternal polyandry of Tibetan type. According to this account, all the brothers are recognized as "father", but for the sake of distinction, the eldest brother is called teg babach (teg "big"; bobach= bo-bats), and the younger is called gato babach (gato "small"; J. D. Cunningham cites gato FB). The children are said to take the clan-name of the father. We can conclude that the Kanauri clan organization is modelled after the Tibetan, but can arrive at no conclusion in re cousin marriage.

* * *

197 [101] The languages spoken in the state of Almora, considerably to the east of the Kanauri region, make up a distinct subgroup within Himalayish. Our linguistic information on this subgroup is exceedingly scant. Four Almora languages, viz. Rangkas, Darmiya, Chaudangsi, and Byangsi, are represented in the LSI by texts and brief word-lists, which include a few kinship terms. In the important article by Lall, however, we find almost complete terminologies for the "Bhotias of Chaudas" (Chaudangsi) and the "Bhotias of Bians" (Byangsi), as well as for the "Bhotias of Johar". The last-named group cannot be identified with any of the Almora groups represented in the LSI. Rangkas is said to be spoken in Upper Johar, but the Rangkas kinship terms are of normal Almora type while the Johar terms are almost all of Indic origin.

601 The Johar terms reflect the selective nature of the borrowing process and thus merit a brief examination. Most

Johar

601 of the borrowings have been made from Khasiya, the Indic language of Almora, as shown by the list of Khasiya terms given by Lall, while others resemble Nepali forms. Straight borrowings from Khasiya include bubu FF, kaka FyB, mama MB, cela S, bhadiya BS(ws), bhanj SiCh(ms), nati gS, and, in the affinal terms, šašu Ml, šaura Fl, jamai Sl, buari Dl, sala WyB, sali WySi, dewar HyB. Johar t'uli ama MoSi is the Nepali term ṭ'uli āmā, lit. "big mother" (Khasiya has thulija FoBW), while Johar nanhi ama MySi is perhaps a local formation based on Nepali nāni "baby, small child; girl; term of affection for a young woman" (e.g. nāni sāhib "resp. term for the Prime Minister's concubines"). The sibling terms are more distinctive, yet dada oB is found in a number of Indic languages (Bengali, Hindustani, Oriya) and bhuli yB,ySi seems to have been derived from Nepali bhura ~ bhuro "small boy", bhuri "small girl".

Of the native Tibeto-Burman terminology Johar has preserved only a handful of terms, viz. a-co FM, a-ma M, a-pa F, ma-pa MF, a-ni FSi, and a-ta oSi (cf. Tsangla a-ta oB). Johar a-ce FM can be compared with Tib. 'a-c'e oSi (cf. Kanauri te-te gF, a-te oB), and a-ni FSi is the direct cognate of Tib. a-ne ~ a-ni. The term a-ma M might be regarded as Indic (Nepali āmā), but a-pa F is of Tibeto-Burman type and hence a-ma, the corresponding term, is more likely of native origin. The interesting combined term ma-pa MF, lit. "mother('s)-father", exhibits a mixture of influences, since the lexical elements are Tibeto-Burman

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but the phrasing is Indic (contrast Tib. p'a-ma "parents"). Note that of the five native roots retained, four (ce, ma, ni, ta) have reference to female relatives (cf. the selection in West Tibetan and Kanauri).

The Byangsi-Chaudangsi terminology, which includes only a few Indic loan-words, shows a number of distinctive and highly interesting features. The Byangsi terms are more fully known and hence have been selected for tabulation, while the Chaudangsi discrepancies are given in the notes.

Byangsi Consanguineal Terms

la-la	FM,MM	ti-ti	FF,MF
ma	M	ba	F
pe-ci	MoSi	*babu*	FoB
šen-ci	MySi	*kaka*	FyB,MSiH
ci-ni	FSi	t'ang-mi	MB,FSiH
pe-ta	oSi(ms)	hya	oB,pC
ta-ta	oSi(ws)		
ring-ša	ySi	nu-nu	yB,pC
c'e-main	xCi(ms)	pe-a	xCe(ws)
te-te	xCe(ms),xCi(ws)		
sa-main	D,pNi	sri	S,pNe
		pi-j	BS(ws)
		bhanji	SiCh (= SiS) (ms)
		k'we	SS,DS

Byangsi Affinal Terms

ci-ni (= FSi) pu-ni	HM	t'ang-mi	WF, FSiH (= MB)
pu-na	FoBW	kaku	MSiH (= FyB)
ci-ci	FyBW		
c'e-main	WSi, oBW(ms)	po-a	HB, SiH(ws)
po-ta (= oSi, ms)	WoBW	c'ar-peu	WSiH
ta-ta (= oSi, ws)	HoBW		
ring-ša (= ySi)	HyBW	ma-se	HyB
te-te	WB, SiH(ms), HSi, BW(ws)		
pi-ma	HSiD, WSiD	pi-j	HSiS, WSiS
		bhanj	WBCh (= WBS)
nam-sia	SW	ma-yeh	DH

Notes:

Both Byangsi and Chaudangsi have only two grandparent terms (ti-ti gF and la-la gM), thus agreeing with Tibetan and Kanauri rather than with Johar. Johar may have been influenced in this respect, as in others, by the Indic terminology, e.g. Hindustani dādā FF, dādi FM, nānā MF, nāni MM. The Almora root *ma M, usually with prefixed m- (Chaudangsi, Darmiya mi-ŋa, Rangkas min), must be placed in the "nursery word" class along with ti-ti gF and la-la gM.

Byangsi babu FoB is certainly from Ind. babu F and thus represents a type of extension of F term. Byangsi and Chaudangsi kaku FyB are likewise from Ind. kākā, with

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601 -u <-a by analogy with babu, the unchanged Indic form being found in Johar (supra), Rangkas, and Darmiya (the two latter in the LSI, sentence no. 225). Byangsi, Chaudangsi t'ang-mi MB may be of periphrastic origin.

The terms for " aunt" in the Almora group present a difficult problem of analysis. An element *ci appears in most of these terms, viz. ci-ni FSi (Byangsi, Chaudangsi), po-ci (Byangsi), pu-ci ~ pu-ci-ci (Chaudangsi) MoSi, šen-ci (Chaudangsi also šen-ci-ci) MySi, ci-ci (Byangsi, Chaudangsi) FyBW. The element -ni is cognate with Tib. (a-)ne, Johar (a-)ni FSi, while pu ~ po appears also in po-ta oSi(ms) (Byangsi), and šen- may be compared with Darmiya sen-can, Rangkas syan-can Ch. The element *ci may be a diminutive; cf. Kanauri *ci Ch. The affinal terms for FoBW are distinct in the two languages, viz. Byangsi pu-na, Chaudangsi ta-mla.

Both age and sex distinctions comparable with those made in Tibetan are reflected in the sibling terms, but the recording has been faulty and hence the complete system must be reconstructed by inference. The use of ring-ša (Byangsi and Chaudangsi) for ySi (but Rangkas and Darmiya rang-sya Si in the LSI) is paralleled in the cognate Tib. sring(-mo) (Sikkim and Nyamskad dialects) and Kanauri ringz (LSI). Chaudangsi has the interesting term bhuli WyBW, evidently the same term as Johar bhuli "younger sibling", probably an Indic loan-word (vide supra). Under the

601 Byangsi-Chaudangsi marriage system (vide infra) WyBW would normally be a man's ySi. Chaudangsi has only a-ta oSi corresponding to Byangsi po-ta oSi(ms) and ta-ta oSi(ws). For po-ta, cf. po-ci MoSi, indicating a partial equation of oSi(ms) with MoSi.

In the brother terms, Chaudangsi (Lall) has hya oB, but yB is said to be called by name. Yet in the Chaudangsi text in the LSI (pp. 512-13) na-nu is used in the meaning "yB". In the word-lists of the LSI only a single term, *pi, is cited for B in the Almora languages, viz. Byangsi, Chaudangsi pi, Rangkas pi-k'an, Darmiya pe (< *pi; cf. Darmiya ca-me D, Rangkas ca-mi). In the LSI texts, however, we find Chaudangsi na-nu (supra), Byangsi nu-nu (p. 524), Darmiya nu-nu (p. 497), all used in the meaning "younger brother" (translated simply "brother" in the LSI, but the context is specific). Byangsi, however, has pi-j BS(ws), also pi-ma BD(ms) as inferred from the meaning HSiD (vide infra), from the same root *pi. If we assign to pi B the specific meaning B(ws), we can explain both the LSI entries and the development of the terms pi-j and pi-ma (B > BS,BD). A perfect parallel is furnished by Chaudangsi, which has nu-nu BS(ws), a simple extension from na-nu ~ nu-nu yB. Byangsi and Chaudangsi agree with Kanauri and Johar in employing an Indic loan-word (bhanj) for SiS(ms), whence perhaps pi-j through analogy. Chaudangsi has further extended the term bhanj to include DH, equated with SiS through cross-cousin marriage (vide infra).

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601 The Byangsi-Chaudangsi cousin terms are of especial interest. The parallel cousin terms are cited by Lall only in part, but we know that Byangsi hya oB and na-nu yB, Chaudangsi a-ta oSi, ring-ša ySi are extended to include pC (age distinctions as in sibling terms), hence we may infer that this holds for all sibling terms. Byangsi has three xC terms, viz. te-te xCe(ms) or xCi(ws), i.e. xC(ss), c'e-main xCi(ms), i.e. xCi(ds), and po-a xCe(ws), i.e. xCe(ds). These distinctions, which have not appeared in the material previously examined, are connected with the Almora institution of cross-cousin marriage (vide infra). On the linguistic side, te-te is to be compared with Kanauri a-te oB, while po-a appears to contain the po ~ pu element found also in po-ci ~ pu-ci MoSi and po-ta oSi(ms). The term c'e-main, with the feminine suffix -main, presupposes a root *c'e xCe(ws) that has been replaced by po-a. This root actually appears in Chaudangsi, in the form c'e FSiS or MBS(os). The term is also used in the meaning HB(os), hence we may safely infer that it is the woman's term corresponding to Byangsi po-a. Lall cites a number of terms as applying only to relatives(os), and the corresponding relatives(ys) are said to be "called by name". This distinction perhaps obtains only in address, since we have seen that a term for yB (na-nu), though omitted in Lall, is found in the Chaudangsi text of the LSI. Lall states (p. 195) that he has "forgotten" the term for FSiD, MBD, yet cites the term c'e-main WSi(os), oBW(os), exactly the affinal usage of

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601 Byangsi c'e-main (vide infra). We thus have Chaudangsi c'e xCe(ws) for Byangsi po-a, and Chaudangsi c'e-main xCi(ms) for Byangsi c'e-main, but lack the Chaudangsi term corresponding to Byangsi te-te.

The Almora Ch and gCh terms differ considerably from those previously encountered. The root *sri S (Byangsi, Chaudangsi siri ~ sri, Darmiya seri, Rangkas seri) is apparently cognate with Thebor (Kanauri group) p'asri "male", esri ~ sri "woman". The term for D, viz. Byangsi ca-main (Lall), ca-me (LSI), Chaudangsi, Darmiya ca-me, Rangkas ci-mi (< ca-mi through assimilation) consists of the element ca Ch (Tib. ts'a) plus the feminine suffix. The LSI cites an additional term, viz. Byangsi senad, Chaudangsi balu-send Ch, perhaps a collective morphological formation from ma M; cf. Tib. smad < ma. The only gCh term known is Byangsi k'we, Chaudangsi k'e SS,DS; cf. Tib. ʾa-k'wa-ba "petit enfant" (Desgodins).

The affinal terms of Byangsi reflect the marriage institutions of that people in a most direct way. The numerous categorical equations attest not only to cross-cousin marriage, as in t'ang-mi MB,FSiH,WF, ci-ni FSi,HM, but also to brother-sister exchange, as in kaku MSiH,FyB, c'e-main WSi,oBW(ms), po-a HB,SiH(ws). It is observed that c'e-main denotes marriageable females (ms), that po-a denotes marriageable males (ws), and that te-te denotes brothers of marriageable females (ms) or sisters of marriageable males (ws), i.e. sibling (of same sex as speaker)

601 of marriageable males or females, and that all these terms refer to cross-cousins exclusively. Under a system of cross-cousin marriage, HSiH becomes Ego's B(ws), hence pi-ma, defined in Lall only as HSiD, becomes also BD, paralleling pi-j BS(ws). Because of the numerous categorical equations only a handful of new terms are presented in the affinal group. Both Byangsi and Chaudangsi have an alternative term for HM, viz. pu-ni, which combines both the elements associated with aunt's terms (supra). Byangsi has especial terms for WSiH (c'ar-pou), HyB (ma-se), and Chaudangsi has especial terms for HyB (defined as yS of HM!), SiH (pu-ga), and for HoSi (defined as oD of HM!) (mun-ci). Note that in both languages it is HyB for whom an especial term is reserved. We are expressly told by Lall that polyandry is not practised by the Almora people, yet the existence of especial HyB terms leads one to believe that HyB is or has been functionally specialized in some degree (in the Lepcha, described below, as in many peoples practising polyandry, HyB is the potentional husband of a woman). The Byangsi term cannot be analyzed (it may be connected with ma-yeh Si), but the Chaudangsi term, pu-ga, must be regarded as directly cognate with Byangsi po-a, as shown by the agreement in affinal meanings. We have every reason to believe, furthermore, that the Chaudangsi terms for xC(ds), viz. c'e and c'e-main, are original with respect to the corresponding Byangsi terms, po-a and c'e-main (see the discussion above). It is thus evident that Byangsi

601 has extended the term po-a ~ pu-ga HB,SiH(ws) to include xCo(ws), since under cross-cousin marriage the referent of these terms is identical. One may thus envisage a connection between pu-ga HB and pu-ni HM, but the semanticization here is not clear. The root *pu itself must be compared with Kanauri a-pu oSi (in Gerard only) and Tibetan p'u-bo oB(ms). It is perhaps merely coincidental that the Byangsi-Chaudangsi xC(ds) term, c'e, should have as a possible cognate Tib. (ʔa-)c'e oSi(ws); the Tibetan term corresponding to p'u-bo. Cf. also the Kanauri root *c'e "female" represented by Kanauri c'ets "female, women", Kanashi c'ets "wife" (with -ts as a diminutive suffix).

Byangsi c'ar-peu WSiH is perhaps cognate with Tib. šar-pa "young men, grown-up youth" (collective noun), Bunan (Kanauri group) šar-pa "youth, boy" (cf. Tib. 'c'ar-ba, Pf. sar "to rise, appear, become visible"). Note that under brother-sister exchange this term would also connote B(ms).

Byangsi and Chaudangsi nam-sia SW, with a feminine suffix -sia found also in rit'i-šia W and perhaps in ring-ša ~ rang-sya Si, is directly comparable with Kanauri stem < *snem SW, and may be cognate with Gyarung snom < *snam Si. Byangsi ma-yeh DH, with an unanalyzed suffix -yeh, is probably cognate with Tib. mag-pa, id. Byangsi regularly drops final -g; cf. Byangsi le "hand", Tib. lag-pa; Byangsi sai-p'a "swine" (LSI text, p. 523), Tib. p'ag.

The evidence for cross-cousin marriage and brother-sister exchange offered by the Byangsi-Chaudangsi terminology is

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supported by Lall's statements in regard to the Almora marriage customs. Cross-cousin marriages "are common - nay they are the rule - among the Bhotias of this district", and brother-sister exchange "is the rule among the Bhotias, and is not unknown even amongst the Khas Rajpûts and the Brâhmans of the district" (p. 193).

The only other available account of the Almora group is that found in Sherring (pp. 56 sq.). Sherring notes the practice of the levirate, and supports Lall's statement that polyandry is found only among the Tibetans. Of unusual interest is his description of a building (rambang) set apart for the carrying on of sexual intrigues, where girls resort from the age of ten and from which even married women are not excluded until after the birth of their first child. Sherring's statement with regard to restrictions must be interpreted as referring to parallel cousins as opposed to cross cousins:

> Only those persons resort there who can marry one another, such as the boys of a neighboring village, or, if of the same village, only those who are not relations. (p. 106)

The Almora rambang is strikingly like the institutions found among the Tibeto-Burman peoples of Burma and Assam (vide infra).

The Almora marriage regulations and kinship terminology seem out of place in the Tibetan-Kanauri setting earlier described, but comparable features are found among groups living far to the south and east, in Burma and Assam. The

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601 Almora evidence, relating as it does to tribes on a cultural level decidedly inferior to that of the Tibetans, thus fills an important place in our general picture of Tibeto-Burman. Lexically, however, Almora is rather divergent; note the roots *hya oB (hardly an archaic form), *sri S, *pi B(ws), *k'we gS, *na M (this root has some extension), the "nursery terms" la-la gM and ti-ti gF, and the semantic development shown by *c'e gCe(ws), apparently connected with Kanauri *c'e "woman", Tib. 'a-c'e oSi(ws).

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4. The Eastern Sub-Himalayas (Nepal)

197 The field of Nepal linguistics has remained a virtual terra incognita to the present day, and hence our discussion of the terminologies employed in this region must necessarily be incomplete and largely unproductive. Hodgson, a pioneer in Tibeto-Burman linguistics, did yeoman service in collecting word-lists nearly a century ago, but our knowledge of most of the Nepal languages has scarcely progressed since his time. The majority of these languages belong to a single well-knit group, Kiranti, which includes Bahing, Sunwari, Limbu, Rai, Khambu, Yakha, Thami, and a number of minor dialects. With the exception of Bahing, the subject of an especial study by Hodgson (1857), these languages are known only fragmentarily. The Kiranti group shows many lexical affinities with the languages of Assam and Burma, and is in some respects transitional between the Bodish-Kanauri and the Assam-Burma groups of languages. Hodgson also selected for especial examination Vayu, spoken somewhat to the west of the Kiranti area. Although some of the Vayu and Bahing kinship terms are identical (vide infra), the relationship between the two languages is in general not especially close, and at best Vayu must be regarded only as an aberrant member of the Kiranti group. The little-known Chepang language appears to be closer to Vayu than to Kiranti. Two additional Nepal languages, viz. Newari, the old State language, and Magari, show no

marked affinities for either Bahing or Vayu and must, for the present, be classified as small independent groups. 197

In the Kiranti group only the Bahing terms are known in any detail, and even here Hodgson's lists are far from complete. The Limbu terms have been extracted from Campbell's vocabulary, while the Sunwari, Rai, Khambu, Yakha, and Thami entries are from the LSI. 601

Bahing Consanguineal Terms

pi-pi	gM			ki-ki	gF
a-mo	M			a-po	F
mo-mo	FSi,MSi			po-po	FB
				ku-ku	MB
		ya-wa	oB,oSi		
		lo-ba	yB,ySi		
		ngwap-sya	C		
ta-mi	D			ta-wa	S
ca-ca-nima	gD			ca-ca	gS

Bahing Affinal Terms

		yep-pa	Fl
wa-dyel-mi	Sil	cai-wa wa-dyal-ca	Bl
dyal-mi	Dl	dyal-ca	Sl

601 Notes:

Bahing pi-pi gM is cognate with Tib. ᾿a-p'yi ~ a-pi, while ki-ki gF is of the "nursery word" type; cf. Byangsi (Almora) ti-ti. The grandparent terms for the other Kiranti languages are not known.

The Kiranti parent terms are based on *ma M and *pa F. Bahing a-mo M and a-po F reflect the occasional -o <-a shift in that language; cf. Bahing ngo "5", Tib. l-nga. Hodgson (note to p. 499) makes the interesting observation that in the 1st person the -a form is retained; thus, wa-ma "(my) mother", and wa-pa "(my) father". Rai has pu F, mu M, just as it has su <*sa S; cf. Rai u-mu "nose", Tib. s-na. Unlike many of the other terms, these parent terms are not ordinarily susceptible to reduplication, yet Limbu has pa-pa, also pa, F, and ma-ma, also ma, M, and reduplication is at the basis of the unusual forms found in Dumi and Khaling, two minor Kiranti languages, viz. Khaling u-pap F, u-mam M, and Dumi u-pyap F, u-myam M (the palatization here cannot be explained).

Bahing is exceptional in having merged the FSi and MSi terms in a single term, mo-mo, apparently derived from mo M, thus paralleling po-po FB, from po F. These terms represent a type of extension of M and F terms. Sunwari, which stands very close to Bahing, has po-po F (cf. Sunwari ngo "5", as in Bahing) but a-ma M. Reduplication also appears in ku-ku MB, cognate with Tib. ᾿a-k'u ~ a-ku FB. This marks the initial appearance of this root in the connotation "MB" rather than "FB". For Limbu, Campbell cites the interesting term (am-)panga "uncle", with prefix as in (am-)ba F. This term appears to be directly cognate with Chepang (infra) pang "uncle", and perhaps with Tib. ʼa-bang, an affinal term (FSH, MSiH).

Bahing is further exceptional in having a single term, ya-wa, for oSb, and a single term, lo-ba, for ySb. The element -wa, of which -ba appears to be a variant, is the regular masculine suffix (fem. -mi), whence it may be inferred that these terms originally stood for oB and yB, respectively. The collective terms cited by Hodgson, viz. lo-ba-bum "brotherhood, brethern", and ya-ba-lo-ba-bum "sisterhood", scarcely agree with his sibling terms. For ya-wa ∼ ya-ba oSb, cf. Almora *hya oB. In the LSI vocabularies, Sunwari has fhep B, a-la Si, but in the Sunwari text lo-ba is used for B, and a-la-ne lo-ba for yB (p. 205); cf. also a-la-ne tau "younger son" (p. 204). Sunwari a-la Si seems to form part of a-la-ne "younger" and may be compared with Murmi a-le yB (supra, pt. 2).

The sibling terms in the other Kiranti languages differ considerably from those in Bahing and Sunwari. An age distinction appears in Limbu (am-)pu (Campbell), p'u (LSI) oB, ni-sǎ (Campbell), nu-sa (LSI) yB, and in Khambu bu oB, ne-c'a yB. The root *p'u oB, represented also by Yakha p'u B, Thami bu-bu B, is cognate with Tib. p'u-bo oB(ms); for the initial of Khambu bu, cf. Khambu bo "pig" (text, p. 323).

601 Tib. p'ag. Limbu (in the LSI) distinguishes also between ne-ne oSi and nu-sa men-c'e-ma ySi (men-c'e-ma "woman", cf. Kanauri *c'e, id.); Campbell cites only nusa-emperca B, nusa-nuncema Si, which contain the same element, nu-sa "younger sibling". This element can be further analyzed as *nu "younger sibling" (Tib. nu ~ no), and *sa Ch. The LSI cites men-c'e-ma sa D, em-be-c'a sa S (Campbell ku-sa). The complete Limbu sibling and children terminology is as follows:

Limbu

ne-ne oSi	p'u oB
nu-sa men-c'e-ma ySi	nu-sa yB
men-c'e-ma sa D	em-be-c'a sa S

For Limbu ne-ne oSi, cf. Tib. ne-ne-mo FSi, an analogy being furnished by Byangsi po-ta oSi(ma), po-ci MoSi.

The Bahing root *ta Ch appears also in Sunwari a-ta Ch, tau < ta-ma S, ta-mi D. The remaining Kiranti languages, however, show a root *c'a, viz. Khambu c'a S, c'e-ku-me c'a D, c'a c'a-ma Ch; Thami ca S, ca-mai D, hu-ca Ch (cf. hu-mi Si); Yakha pic-c'a Ch, cya S; Rai cu S, cu mi-cum D, cũ-cu Ch (cf. pu F, mu M). The Tibetan cognate is ts'a Ne,gCh; note that Bahing ca-ca gS, ca-ca-nima gD, show a similar use of the term.

The Limbu terms *sa Ch, nu-sa ySb, em-be-c'a sa S (LSI), nusa-emperca B (Campbell) confront us with the problem of making a distinction between two roots or varieties of a single root, viz. *c'a or *ca vs. *sa. Both Campbell and the LSI make the distinction within a single term involving an identical element (em-be-ca ~ em-per-ca), hence we must regard it as a legitimate one. This form may be compared with Bahing be-ba-ca "infant", fem. be-ba-ca-nima, parallel with ca-ca gS, ca-ca-nima gD. In Bahing ca and mi-ca are a pair of "formative" suffixes, respectively masc. and fem., e.g. li-ca "a bowman", from li "bow", as contrasted with the regular sex-suffixes found in ta-wa S, ta-mi D. Bahing employs the suffix -ca in mĩ-ca "female" (prob. the same as mi-ca), wan-ca H (cf. waĩ-sa "male"), dyal-ca Bl, ca-ca gS, and be-ba-ca "infant". Bahing mĩ-ca "female" is paralleled by Sunwari mi-ca W, Yakha met-c'a W (cf. Limbu a-mat ~ mat W), Thami ca-mai-ca "woman" (cf. ca-mai D), Rai mi-cum "woman" (cf. cu mi-cum D, cũ-cu Ch), and Khambu mis-c'a "woman". Khambu further has ne-c'a yB, o-ne-c'a-nga Si (cf. Limbu ne-ne oSi), as well as c'a-c'a-ma Ch. It is fairly evident that the above forms all involve a single root *c'a, which frequently functions as a suffix (cf. Tib. ts'a as used in the very stable compound, bu-ts'a). Limbu em-be-c'a ~ em-per-ca certainly contains this root *c'a, while *sa Ch must represent either another root or a distinct variety of this same root.

Some support for this thesis can be adduced from the aberrant Bodish languages, Murmi, Gurung, and Tsangla

601 (analyzed supra, pt. 2). These languages all have sonant initial forms in their terms for Ch, viz. Murmi, Gurung ja S, ja-me D, Tsangla za ~ ža S, za-min ~ ja-min D (in two different recorders, Robinson and Stack). Surd initial forms, however, appear in Gurung ca-me D and in Tsangla ok-tsa ~ o-sa, wok-tsa ~ wak-sa "child, boy, girl", za-sa "child(baby)", and the last-named form even contrasts the sonant and surd initial varieties. The distinction thus arrived at, viz. between sonant initial forms (ja, za) and surd initial forms (c'a, sa), will prove to be of considerable utility in our treatment of the languages of Assam and Burma, and obviates the necessity of making forced comparisons between sonant and surd initial forms.

Bahing ngwap-sya, defined as "paternal or maternal cousin", is the only collateral term known for the Kiranti group. It cannot be analyzed on the basis of the available Bahing material.

Our knowledge of the Kiranti affinal terminology is likewise confined to the Bahing terms yep-pa Fl, wa-dyal-ca Sl and wa-dyel-mi (= wa-dyal-mi) Sil, dyal-ca Sl and dyal-mi Bl. Yep-pa Fl, probably for *ye-pa, may be related to Byangsi (Almora group) ma-yeh Sl. The element *dyal of the remaining terms is in all probability the Bahing word dyal "village", which extends through almost all the Kiranti languages (Kacherang tyal, Khaling del, etc.). It is perhaps cognate with Lepcha tyol < *tyal "to be in company, associate", a-tyol "companionship, assistance".

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Most of the Kiranti terms for "spouse" have been cited above. Exceptional are Bahing ming W, Rai me-ya W (cf. Kanauri yas W), and Thami u-ma, Khambu yuh W (cf. Kanauri yu-med Ml).

We have almost no information on the marriage regulations of the Kiranti tribes. Risley reports that among the Limbu marriage is forbidden within the thar (patrilineal sib), but "there seems to be much uncertainty about prohibited degrees, and I believe near alliances with the mother's kindred are by no means uncommon", indicating possible marriage with MBD. Adam describes 62 clans among the Limbu, with several "kindred" in each, but makes no precise statement with regard to marriage practices. Both Risley and Adam indicate that the impact of Indian culture has produced a general confusion among clans and castes.

The Vayu terms, like those of Bahing, are known only from Hodgson's record of the language (1857).

Vayu Consanguineal Terms

pi-pi	gM	ki-ki	gF
u-mu	M	u-pu	F
yeng-yeng	MSi	pong-pong	FB
ni-ni	FSi	ku-ku	MB
nu-nu	eSi	[illegible]	eB,C
di-yu	ySi	ba-lu	yB,C
ta-mi	D	ta-wo	S

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Vayu Affinal Terms

ca-k'i Fl
co-yong-mi Dl jamwai Sl

Notes:

The Vayu terminology is notable for its predilection for reduplicated forms and for balanced forms, as in yeng-yeng MSi and pong-pong FB, bo-lo oB and ba-lu yB. Correspondences with Bahing include pi-pi gM and ki-ki gF, ku-ku MB, and ta-mi D, ta-wo S. The vocalism shown by u-mu M, u-pu F, is comparable with that of Bahing a-mo, a-po; cf. Vayu u(ng) "5", Tib. l-nga. Vayu pong-pong FB may correspond to Bahing po-po (a type of extension of F term); cf. the secondary nasals developed in the collective terms bo-lung-co "uterine brethern", nu-nung-co "sisterhood". Under this analysis the term yeng-yeng MSi would represent a secondary development from a reduplicated root *ye. In view of Chepang pang "uncle", however, it is perhaps preferable to reconstruct a Vayu root *pang, comparable also with Limbu (am-)panga, Tib. 'a-bang. For the o < a development of the medial vowel cf. Vayu nomo "sky", Tib. g-nam; Vayu lom "road", Tib. lam. Vayu departs from Bahing in its retention of ni-ni FSi (Tib. ne-ne-mo).

In the Vayu sibling terms, bo-lo oB and ba-lu yB must be compared with Bahing lo-ba yB. Nu-nu oSi is probably from *na-na (Murmi na-na oSi), paralleling u-mu M and u-pu F, while di-yu ySi resembles Chitkhuli (Kanauri group) dyu-cang "girl, woman" (both seem to contain the root *yu "women"). Both bo-lo and ba-lu are extended to include "maternal and paternal cousin", probably to be interpreted as including both parallel and cross cousins.

In addition to ta-mi D, ta-wo S, Vayu has co-o "child, boy", co-mi, mes-co-co-o "girl". As observed by Hodgson (note to p. 373), cho-o stands for cho-wo (cf. ta-wo). Hodgson states that "cho'mi is now chiefly used for a little one and rather adjectively than substantively". The root here is *ca, the o < a development being shown also in ta-wo S, Bahing ta-wa. The diminutive connotation of the term also agrees with the Bahing meaning "gCh". The Kiranti use of *c'a, *ca as a suffix is paralleled by the Vayu terms, mes-co "female, woman", lŏ-co "male" (cf. bo-lo oB), bo-lung-co "brethern", nu-nung-co "sisterhood" , and ro-co H, corresponding to ro-mi W.

In the Vayu affinal terms, janwai Sl is an Indic loan-word (cf. Assamese jowai, Khasiya jamai, ic.). The two remaining terms, ca-k'i Fl and co-yong-mi Dl, cannot be analyzed, though the latter contains the element *co < *ca (supra) and the fem. suffix -mi.

The Vayu terminology in general, except for the affinal terms, stands unexpectedly close to the Bahing, the most important difference lying in its retention of the root for FSi (ni-ni). Both languages present analogous periphrastic terms for "parent" and "child", viz. Vayu p'ok-vi "parent"

60/ (p'ok "to beget", cf. Burmese p'ok "to hatch"), bok-ping-vi "child" (bok "to be begotten"); Bahing kik-ba "parent" (kik "to beget", cf. Lepcha gyek ~ gek), gik-ba "child" (gik "to be begotten"); the surd vs. sonant initial alternation here is a characteristic Tibeto-Burman transitive vs. intransitive distinction.

Chepang, which in general stands closer to Vayu than to Bahing, shows no especial relationship to either in its kinship terms as recorded by Hodgson (1848). Its grandparent terms, viz. to gF, aie gM, are distinct; with the latter cf. Upper Kanauri ai gM. The sibling terms are hou B, hou dhiang Si; cf. co "child, boy", co riang "girl". Chepang mum "aunt" may be based on an original *mu-mu, but Chepang has ma M, pa F rather than the -u forms of Vayu. Chepang pa-lam H, ma-lam W, are of unusual type.

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The Magari terms are of interest only in showing the extreme to which the process of taking over Indic loan-words can be carried. Aside from kinship terminology, Magari has preserved a fair proportion of native Tibeto-Burman roots, hence the contrast in this respect is striking. Almost all the terms cited in Beames and the LSI are of Indic origin. They include the following: boju gM and baju gF, mai M and bai F (not typically Indic, but the vocalism points in this direction), bhai B and bhain ~ bahini Si, nati gS and natini gD, and nani "child (familiar)". Indeed, only one native

601 Tibeto-Burman kinship root has been retained, viz. *za Ch, which appears in za, mi-za, len-za S, len-za-za "boy" (len-za "male", ren-za "young man"), za-za-ko "boy, child", masto mi-za, mahaza za D (masto "woman, mahaza W). In addition Magari has the feminine suffix man (used with animals), cognate with Kanauri mann, Thebor man "female" (Kanauri "mother"), and ar-nam ~ ar-num (for ar-nam) "girl, maiden", comparable with Byangsi and Chaudangsi (Almora group) nam-sia Dl, Kanauri stem < *snem Dl, Gyarung snom < *snam Si. Note especially the appearance of the r- prefix, which Magari has preserved in several other roots, including ar-ghan "wasp", ar-kin "fingernail", ar-min "name", la-wat (for *ar-wat) "leech".

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197 Newari, the last of the Nepal languages to be examined, was the State language until the overthrow of the Newar dynasty in 1769 (cf. Nepal ~ Newar). The language is still of some importance, and boasts of an indigenous literature of considerable antiquity. This literature, like the Newari language itself, has been thoroughly impregnated with Indic elements, including even some grammatical 601 features. The kinship terminology shows a curious mixture of native and alien elements somewhat different from any previously encountered. Our sources on Newari are of a most heterogeneous nature. Conrady and Jörgensen have compiled glossaries based on Newari works, while the lists

in Wright and the LSI are supposedly based on the spoken language. Many of the forms appear only in a single source, and the orthographies are widely fluctuating. It is with many reservations, therefore, that the following table is presented. Terms that are known to be, or can be inferred to be, Indic loan-words are underlined. It can be assumed that most of these loan-words are from Nepali, for which an excellent source exists (R. L. Turner, *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, London, 1931).

Newari Consanguineal Terms

aji	gM	aja	gF
ma	M	ba	F
dhom ma	MoSi	abaju	FoB
camaju	MySi	kakaju	FyB
ni-ni	FSi	paju mu-pa	MB
ta-ta	oSi	daju	oB
ke-he	ySi	ki-ja	yB
hmya-ca	D	ka-ya	S
		c'ay(a)	gS

Newari Affinal Terms

dhoma ma	FoBW	sǎsul	Fl
mamaju	FyBW	jilacapaju	FSiH
mǎle	MBW		
pilili	HBW		
i-ni	Dl	jil(i)	Sl

601 **Notes:**

It is seen that approximately half the Newari terms are of Indic origin. Newari shows some originality in its treatment of these loan-words; thus, the suffix -ju (Nepali -jiu ~ -ju "particle of assent or respect, used after names to express respect") is employed more extensively than in Nepali, and the Tibeto-Burman a- prefix is sometimes added. Curiously enough, the single comparable form in Nepali, viz. āmā M, is not paralleled in Newari, which uses reduplicated forms, viz. ma-ma ~ mam ~ mã, as well as ma. The variant F terms, viz. ba ~ ba-ba ~ bau ~ bu-ba ~ a-bu, parallel the Nepali series: bā ~ bēbā ~ bābai ~ bābu ~ buba (bābā and buba are described as "children's" terms). The terms (a-)ji gM, (a-)ja gF, and (a-)baju FoB (also ba-ju F) show recombining of the elements found in Nepali jiju ggF, jiju-āmā ggM, jibā < jyu-bābu gF, baṛajyu ~ bājye gF, bājyu ~ bājyei gM. The addition of the prefix -ju is the only change made in kakaju FyB, Nepali kākā, and camaju MySi, Nepali chyāmā < kānchi āmā. Newari dhom ma MoSi (cited only by Wright) has not yet been identified, but phonetically it is of Indic type. Unlike the West Tibetan and Kanauri groups, Newari has not borrowed the Indic term māmā MB, though mu-pa (Jörgensen) may be an analogous formation (cf. Nepali muma M, an "affectionate" term). The other MB term, paju (Wright), showing a categorical equation in jilacapaju (jilaca-paju) FSiH, is connected with Nepali p'u-pāju FSiH (p'u-p'u FSi).

601 The standard oB term, daju, as well as the alternative term, dada (Jörgensen), are Indic loan-words (Nepali dājyu; Bengali, Oriya dādā), but ki-ja yB appears to be native. The root *p'u oB (Tib. p'u-bo), however, is represented in the compound term p'u-kij (for p'u-ki-ja) "brothers" (Gebrüder) cited by Jörgensen. Neither ki-ja nor the corresponding feminine term, ke-he (also ke-he) ySi, can be analyzed. Newari ka-ya S and c'a-y gS contain a suffixed element -ya, often abbreviated to -y, as in the phrase t'yaka-ka-y "full (leiblicher) son". This element is perhaps the same as that found in Kanauri ba-ya yB, (a-)ya-nŏng "infant". Jörgensen cites ka D, but the ordinary term is hmya-ca ~ hma-ca, probably to be analyzed hm- (fem. element) + ya + ca. The root *ca is also represented in ca "boy", ma-ca ~ mo-ca "child, boy", lya-ca "young one" (masc.), and in c'a-y gS (cf. Tib. ts'a). Wright also cites ka-ya ma-ca "boy", hmya-ya ma-ca "girl", thus supporting the analysis of hmya-ca offered above. The root *ka Ch, like the Vayu-Bahing root *ta (supra), is a new element. Jorgensen further cites ghăl ~ ghăli "enkelhaft", ghăli-cayapu "das Enkelhafte". This term, which is phonetically not of Newari type, must be compared with Indic ghar " home, family"; for the -l < -r shift, cf. Newari săsăl ~ săsul Fl, Indic sasura; Newari tal "relative (Verwandter)", Indic thar "clan".

The only collateral term known is p'u-kĩ-j-ya ka-y (for p'u-k'i-ja-ya ka-ya) BS, which is simply a descriptive phrase.

601 The affinal terms show categorical equations in dhoma ma FoBW and dhoma ma MoSi, jilacapaju FSiH (apparently containing the same element as jil ~ jili Sl) and paju MB. Newari săsăl ~ sasul Fl is an Indic loan-word (supra), suggesting a corresponding term *sāsu Ml (not given in our sources). The terms jil ~ jili Sl, măle MBW, and pilili HBW, defy all efforts at analysis. Only i-ni Dl, which under cross-cousin marriage would be a reciprocal term to ni-ni FSi, offers any hope of explanation. This type of reciprocal terminology has not yet been encountered, but there are indications of it elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman (see especially the Kachin discussion).

To review this discussion, Newari offers relatively little new material in our study of Tibeto-Burman kinship terminology, aside from the borrowing processes that it illustrates. The lack of ethnographic data and the exiguousness of our lexical material precludes the possibility of any general interpretation. The language has retained a number of Tibeto-Burman kinship roots, viz. *ma M, *ba F, *ni FSi, *ta oSi, *p'u oB, *c'a ~ *ca Ch, and has developed at least one new root (*ka Ch) and some especial terms (ke-he ySi, ki-ja yB, perhaps also ma-pa MB).

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5. Lepcha

197 The Lepcha kinship terminology presents a distinctive set of problems not previously encountered in our review of the field. Our data on the Lepcha, both linguistic and ethnographic, are fairly adequate, and this situation in [101] itself constitutes something of a novelty. Gorer has contributed a remarkable study of Lingthem, a Lepcha village in Zongu (Sikkim), in which Lepcha culture has been preserved as a relatively homogeneous unit. Morris has written a popular account involving some of the same material, and the folklore has been studied by Stocks. Both Gorer and Stocks give lists of kinship terms, which agree in most respects and tend to supplement one another. On the ethnographic side, Gorer gives us a complete picture of clan organization, marriage regulations, kin behaviour, etc. Stocks' article includes scattered notes on Lepcha customs, and marriageable and non-marriageable kin are indicated as such in her list of terms, but this material includes a number of obvious errors and is not entirely trustworthy; Gorer remarks (p. 41) that her notes "correspond in practically no particular with my observations" . On the linguistic side, the grammar and dictionary of Mainwaring, the latter carefully edited by Grünwedel, supply a rich storehouse of raw material, perhaps as important a single source as any in this general field. Gorer's unkind remarks (pp. 39 sq.) can scarcely be justified, especially in view of the fact that his own incorrect forms

192 and generally deficient linguistic handling of the material can be interpreted only through recourse to the works of these two scholars. The forms cited below are those that appear in the dictionary by Mainwaring and Grünwedel (cited as MG), though the aberrant forms given by Gorer and Stocks are occasionally noted. The Lepcha lists in Campbell and the LSI are of no especial importance (Campbell has evidently confused some of the terms).

193 Lepcha is one of the most unusual, as well as one of the most important, languages in the Tibeto-Burman family. It parallels Tibetan in its well preserved but rather rigid morphology, and exhibits an even more extensive system of prefixes. Initial and final consonants, including initial clusters, have in general been retained, but note final -s > -t, as in hrăt "bone", Tib. rus; nyăt "2", Tib. gnyis. Two sets of vocalic shifts are in operation in Lepcha. The first of these is medial or final a > o, as in klo "to fall", Tibeto-Burman (TB) *kla; zo "to eat", TB *za; ngo "fish", TB *ngya; (a-)tsom "hair", TB *ts'am; lom "road", TB *lam; (a-)rong "horn", TB *rang. The second is medial u (occasionally i) > ă (distinct from a), as in (a-)hrăt "bone", TB *rus; măt "to blow", TB *mut; lăng "stone", TB *lung; (tă-)băk "stomach", TB *buk; tă-răk "6", TB *d-rug; săm "3", TB *g-sum; nyăt "2", TB *g-nis; nyăl~ nyel "gums", TB *s-nil. The medial ă thus developed tends to become o before final velar consonants, resulting in doublets of the

193 type rŭng ~ rong "a Lepcha", sŭ-t'ŭng ~ sŭ-t'ong "tiger". The medial ŭ is often retained in composition, e.g. sŭng-mŭt "wind" (mŭt "to blow"), lŭng- rather than lăng- in names for varieties of stone.

The final dental morphology of Tibet (vide pt. 1) is exactly paralleled in Lepcha, in which final -t stands for -d, and final -n and -m for -n, the -m ordinarily being adjectival. Thus, zo "to eat", (a-)zom "food", zot "to graze", (a-)zot "pasture, food for cattle"; hru "to be hot", (a-)hrum "hot", (a-)hrun "heat"; bu "to carry", (a-)bum "vehicle"; t'yo "to hear", t'yom "hearing" (n.); ya "to know", (a-)yam "knowledge", ši "to be", šim "a being" (the -m substantival forms have been selected because of their bearing on the discussion that follows, but -n is the typical suffix here, as in (a-)hrun "heat").

197 In Lepcha we are faced with the problem of Tibetan rather than Indic loan-words. The Lepcha have been in continuous contact with the Tibetans for many centuries, hence we must dissect out several strata of loan-words reflecting both the period of borrowing and the dialect (including the Classical language) from which the borrowing has been made. Many of these loan-words are easily identified, e.g. nya "fish" alongside the native form ngo (supra), but those from an earlier stratum may conform to Lepcha linguistic patterns and consequently pass for native forms. Thus, nok "black" would appear to be the native term cognate with Tib. nag (o < a, vide supra), contrasting with the

197 borrowed form nak as found in nak-c'o "the black arts" (Tib. nag-p'yogs) and other obviously recent loan-words. Yet the true native term is rather (a-)tyang "black, dark", cognate with Tsangla tsang, Kachin cang "black" (Lepcha has medial a, probably from TB *ā, in a number of important roots). So also nok "ink" from Tib. snag, unquestionably a loan-word but showing the o < a shift (if truly cognate the form would be
601 *nyok rather than nok, vide infra). It is apparent, then, that the general semantic setting as well as the phonological development of a given Lepcha word must be considered in making our identification of it as native or Tibetan. That this is especially true of kinship terminology will be shown in the annotations below.

Lepcha Consanguineal Terms

				(a-)zo	ggF
nyi-kung	gM			t'i-kung	gF
(a-)mo	M			(a-)bo	F
(a-)mo tim(-bo)	FoSi,MoSi			(a-)bo tim(-bo)	FoB
(a-)mo cum(-bo)	MySi			(a-)bo cum(-bo)	FyB
(a-)nyu	FSi,MSi			(a-)ku	FB
				(a-)žong	MB
(a-)nom	oSi,pxC			(a-)nŭm	oB,pxC
		yong	ySb,pxC	nu	yB
		(a-)kŭp	Ch		
		nŭm-kŭp nom-kŭp	SbCh		
		kŭp-zong (a-)zon	gCh		
		nyi-t'i	ggCh		

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Lepcha Affinal Terms

fyǎt-nyo Ml (a-)fyǎt Fl

(a-)yu W (a-)vo H

(a-)zong FyBW, MyBW, oBW, WySi (all ms);
(a-)ngop HoBS, HyB, oSiH (all ws)
ong-zong Sbl (ss)

myom SW, yBW (ms), SbSW (ms) myok DH, ySiH (ws), SbDH (ws)

Notes:

The two grandparent terms include the element kung "tree", which functions here as a categorical term. The element t'i is identical with t'i "to be related", cognate with Tib. t'e-ba "to appertain to", and appears also in t'it-bo "a relative" (with morphological -t suffix). The element nyi is not so readily analysed. It is represented in a-nyi, an expletive for a-go "love", and tă-nyi, an expletive for tă-yu "woman", as well as in nyit "to cherish" (with -t suffix). For the Lepcha system of expletives (semantic doublets), e.g. man ~ kit "flesh", făt ~ lek "earth" (pă-lek "a parcel of ground"), fo ~ yu "bird", vyeng ~ grong "door, window" (tă-grong "ladder"), see Mainwaring's *Grammar*, 136-37. This root (*nyi) must be compared with Tib. nye-ba "to be near", nye-mo "near", used figuratively, as in nye-mo je-pa "to love, e.g. parents loving their children or vice versa" (Central Tibetan), nye-ba-rnams "relations, sanguinity", nye-ts'an, nye-rigs "relative, kinsman", and gnyen "kinsman, relative"; for

23; Benedict E-5 (no date) 1941 All Southeast Asia
Lepcha AK5

the vocalism, cf. Lepcha mi "fire", Tib. me; Lepcha a-li 601 "tongue", Tib. lce < *o-le. The elements *nyi and *t'i are combined in the term nyi-t'i ~ nyi-t'ǎ, probably ggCh, ggS (Stocks), but defined also as gCh and as gggCh (MB, in different places), and nyi-t'o ggD (Stocks).

Both grandparent terms are extended, e.g. t'i-kung denotes also "any man irrespective of age who traces relationship to a common ancestor and who is two generations nearer this ancestor than the speaker" (Gorer). In Lepcha folktales and mythology, t'i-kung stands for the "Old Man" (Gorer) or the "progenitor of the Rong-folk" (t'i-kung-tek, Stocks), and nyi-kung-ngal (Stocks) for his wife.

The parallelism in grandparent-grandchild terms indicated above can be traced further. Thus, MG gives the following scheme:

nyi-t'i	gCh	t'i-kung	gF
nyi-t'ing	ggCh	t'i-kung-t'ing	ggF
nyi-t'it	gggCh	t'i-kung-t'in	gggF
nyi-t'it-tek	ggggCh	t'i-kung-tek	ggggF

Most of these terms are primarily literary. Both t'in and t'it are probably derivatives of t'i "to be related", but note also (a-)t'in "a time, a generation". The other elements are t'ing "lord, master", tek "to be finished or ended", tek-bo "the last", as in yeng tek-bo "the last child". MG further cites nyi-kung-nyo ggM, nyi-kung-ngal gggM, and nyi-kung-pum ggggM, as well as t'i-kung-pum gggggF (also

601 "the head of the ancestors"). The botanical semasiology of kung "tree" (supra) is continued in the above terms; cf. ngal "to be short and thick", a-ngal "the head end, a short end of yam or other vegetable" (tek-ngal "progenitors, founders of a race"), and pum "to issue from, be the origin", a-pum "the chief sprout of plants", pum-bo "the chief, the principal, God".

Of especial interest is the term (a-)zo ggF (Stocks), which is certainly a direct representative of Tibeto-Burman *za Ch,gCh. The derivative in final -n is (a-)zon "grandchild, posterity", zon-kŭp ~ zon-nyin ~ zon-nyin-kŭp "offspring, descendants" (nyin is the derivative in final -n from *nyi, supra), a-kŭp a-zon "my own child (an expression of endearment of mother)", but zon defined simply as "creatures, men" (cf. Spanish criatura, Italian creatura). In the Lepcha term (a-)zo, therefore, we have strong evidence for grandparental reciprocity.

The terms used for the paternal and maternal pedigrees reflect Lepcha notions of physiology similar to those held by the Tibetans. The term for pedigree itself is (a-)gyit, from gyit "to follow"; cf. Tib. brgyud "lineage", rgyud "string", rgyud-pa "to file on a string", rgyun "a continual flowing, the flow, current or stream", rgyu-ba "to go, move, wander". For "male pedigree", Lepcha has t'ing gyit (t'ing "lord", supra), also a-hrăt a-gyit, a-hrăt zong "male branch of family", from (a-)hrăt "bone". The corresponding feminine term is nyo gyit "pedigree on female side", whence the alternative terms nyo-kung~ nyi-kung gM, nyo-kung-nyo nyi-kung-nyo ggM. Etymologically, nyo is an expletive of vi "blood", but the Tibetan cognate is nyà "tendon, sinew, muscle", hence the term refers fundamentally to the flesh rather than to the blood. The parallelism with Tib. rus(-pa) "bone" and ša "flesh" is complete. The native theory is thus expressed by Gorer (p. 283):

> .....the father's semen provides the bones and brain, the mother's vaginal secretions the flesh and blood.

Stocks (p. 465) makes a similar statement:

> .....the mother's relations are considered to be of much nearer kin than the father's. The Lep-cha believe it to be only the father who transmits bone to his offspring, while from the mother they obtain their flesh and blood.

The alternation of nyo with nyi in the gM, ggM terms suggests that nyi is associated with the maternal side (cf. Tib. nye-ba "to be near" , supra), t'i with the paternal side (cf. t'i "to be related"). The merging of the ascending lines would thus appear to be analogical, contrasting with the real merging of the descending lines shown in the "fused" terms nyi-t'i gCh, nyi-t'it gggCh, and nyi-t'ing ggCh (t'ing for t'i, vide supra).

Lepcha (a-)m[illegible] M and (a-)bo F (often mu, bu in modern pronunciation) represent the regular Tibeto-Burman roots *ma and *ba. These terms in themselves, unlike the grandparent terms, are not extended, but a type of quasi-extension is found in (a-)mo tim(-bo) FoSi, MoSi, (a-)bo tim(-bo) FoB

601 (ti-m "great, large"), (a-)mo cum(-bo) MySi, (a-)bo cum(-bo) FyB (cu-m "small, little"). It is clear from Gorer's annotations that these combined terms are used only when the relatives in question reside in or near the house of the speaker. Thus, Gorer defines a-mo cum-bo (a-mu chimbu) only as "younger co-wife", and "wife of father's younger brother; only used if living chiefly in same house as speaker", but among the Lepcha the younger co-wife is ordinarily MySi (real or classificatory). Of a-bo tim-bo Gorer remarks: "always used if the two brothers live in the same house or neighborhood, not usually if they live in different villages"; a-bo cum-bo is said to be "only used if the two brothers live in the same house"; a-mo tim-bo is defined as "elder sister of father or mother if living in same house or neighborhood". In affinal usage, a-bo tim-bo is "elder co-husband", a-bo cum-bo is "younger co-husband", and a-mo tim-bo is "elder co-wife".

Lepcha (a-)ku FB, (a-)žong MB, and (a-)nyu FSi,MSi constitute an entirely distinct set of terms. Like the grandparent terms, they are subject to extension. Gorer defines a-ku as "any man whom father calls 'brother'; any male irrespective of age who traces relationship to a common ancestor and who is one generation nearer this ancestor than speaker; any man mother calls 'aku'", a-žong as "mother's brother; may be, but is not always, applied to any man one generation older than speaker whose relationship, however distant, is traced through a woman", and a-nyu as "younger sister of parent; also any woman whom father or mother calls 'sister'; also any women irrespective of age who traces a relationship to a common ancestor and who is one generation nearer this ancestor than speaker". The status of the terms a-ku and a-žong is debatable, in view of the close correspondences with Tib. ʼa-k'u and ʼa-žang. The initial aspirated k' of Tibetan loan-words is usually retained in Lepcha, in which it is phonemically aberrant, e.g. k'a ~ k'o "mouth" (Tib. k'a), k'u "bread" (Tib. k'ur), k'ye ~ k'e "profit" (Tib. k'ye ~ k'e), but Tibetan itself has the fluctuation ʼa-k'u ~ a-ku (produced by the a- prefix) and the Lepcha form a-ku may be based on the latter. The term a-žong is rendered somewhat suspect by the initial ž-, which is on the whole an atypical element in Lepcha but is standard in Tibetan loan-words, e.g. ži "4" (Tib. bži), žung "middle" (Tib. gžung). Lepcha a-nyu FSi,MSi is a variant of nyo, a categorical term applied to relatives of the uterine line (vide supra); the phonetic development parallels that shown by mu < mo M, bu < bo F, tau < tao "to cook", un < on "horse", and others. MG cites a-nyu "aunt", but a-nyo "lady, queen", but Gorer has a-nyu also in the meaning "the most respectful form of address to any socially superior women: is used as a title for female supernaturals and Queens". It is the female equivalent of a-t'ing "the most respectful term for a man; used for high officials and male supernaturals". Since t'ing has a categorical usage exactly paralleling that of nyo (supra), the equivalence nyo = nyu is established.

The three sibling terms, also extended to include parallel and cross cousins, are (a-)nom oSi, (a-)nŭm oB, and yeng (also eng, ing) ySb. The additional term, nu (Tib. nu ~ no), though defined in MG as yB, seems to be used only in the stable compound nŭm-nu "blood relation (implying a person with whom sexual intercourse would be incestuous)" (Gorer), "relations, relatives" (MG), nŭm-nu mim-yeng "relatives, connexions", nŭm-nu-ka t'i "to be related", nŭm-nu tyol-nu "friends and acquaintances", and in stereotyped phrases of the type bo-nu "father and family", mo-nu "mother and children". The term nŭm oB itself is a derivative in -m from the root *nu (see the discussion above). The combined term nŭm-nu is formally comparable with Tib. p'u-nu but functionally comparable with Tib. spun. Lepcha a-nom < *nam oSi is cognate with Gyarung snom < *snam Si (and cf. the discussion of nyom below), while yeng ySb appears to be related to Tsangla -ying (cf. nyel "gums", Tib. snyil). MG cites yeng tă-yu ySi, yeng tă-gri yB, with the sex-suffixes, but this distinction is not ordinarily made. As in Tibetan, the age distinction is of primary importance. According to Gorer (p. 166), the Nepali terms for oSi and ySi have been borrowed as descriptive terms for the co-wives:

601

> This [that the co-wife should be the ySi of the first wife] is recognized in the terms with which co-wives are always referred to; the Nepali words jethi and kanchi, meaning 'eldest sister' and 'youngest sister' are always used; Lepcha has no equivalent terms to indicate the position of a child in the order of birth.

Gorer's statement is perhaps inexact, since both MG and Stocks cite analogous native Lepcha terms, e.g. nŭm-fren eB, nǔm-hlep-bo yB (Stocks). Since almost no Nepali loan-words exist in the language, the use of Nepali terms in this specific connection presents a definite problem, such as Kanauri bai yB and other loan-words already encountered.

The neuter sibling term, (a-)kŭp, is a new element. The terms ta-yŭ kŭp D, ta-gri kŭp S, are used only in a descriptive way, according to Gorer. A-kŭp itself can be extended (Gorer defines it as "any child"), but the extended usage is more properly represented by nom-kŭp SiCh, nŭm-kŭp BCh (Gorer and Stocks tend to confuse these two terms under the single form năm-kŭp, which is merely a variant of nŭm-kŭp, but the distinction is clearly made in MG). MG also cites a-ku kŭp "paternal cousin" and a-žong kŭp "maternal cousin" (probably descriptive), as well as a-nyu kŭp "nephew, niece, child of elder brother" (perhaps through the honorific nature of the term a-nyu). The normal gCh term is kŭp-zong, in which kŭp is combined with the element zong (analyzed below). It is extended to include "any child two generations younger than ego" (Gorer), and can show sex distinction (probably descriptive only), viz. kŭp-zong tă-yu gD, kŭp-zong tă-gri gS. For the terms (a-)zon and nyi-t'i, see the discussion above.

601 The affinal terminology presents several new terms (listed in the table) and a number of consanguineal terms used affinally. The terms used in any given instance depend in large measure on the composition of the family and the residence of the spouse's kin. The following excerpt from Gorer (p. 143) gives the essential points:

> Old age is considered by the Lepchas to be a desirable quality; the polite term of address to anybody you are not related to is 'old man'; and there is a tendency to push anybody older than the speaker into a higher generation. Thus, when a man has had a child he calls his wife's parents 'grandfather' and 'grandmother', and the parents call their own elder brothers and sisters 'father' and 'mother'; the wife's elder brother, or her elder sister's husband (and conversely) are equated with her father. The opposite tendency is also manifested towards the wives of younger brothers (the elder brother calls them 'daughters-in-law') and the husbands of younger sisters (the elder sister calls them 'sons-in-law'). In the joint family which dwells under a single roof only nine terms are normally used: 'grandfather', 'grandmother', 'father', 'mother', 'elder brother', 'elder sister', 'younger brother-or-sister', 'child' and 'grandchild'. It does not matter how many brothers and their wives live together; all the brothers are called 'father', all their wives 'mother' by all the children; if it is necessary to distinguish which 'mother' or 'father' is meant, the child will say 'big mother', 'little mother', and if necessary 'middle mother'; his own mother he will call his 'real mother'. If the married brothers live in different houses the children of the younger brother will still call the elder brother and his wife 'father' and 'mother'; but the sons of the elder brother will call the younger brother 'uncle', and his wife 'potential spouse' (azong), for, as will be seen later, they may under certain circumstances inherit her.

In this extension of consanguineal terms, the use of teknonymy and the equation of elder sibling of spouse with parent of spouse are prominent features. Thus, before the birth of a child, a-bo is used for SpF, SpoB, SpoSiH, while after the birth of a child t'i-kung is used to denote these same affinal kin. The definitions of affinal kin in Stocks and Gorer are not sufficiently precise to enable us to fix the status of (a-)fyăt Fl, fyăt-nyo Ml (only in MG), and (a-)nyu Ml. Gorer specifies that a-fyăt is a descriptive term not used in address, and notes that, like a-bo and t'i-kung, it denotes WoSiH and WoB as well as "father of spouse", while a-nyu denotes both WM and WoSi. The avuncular terms, a-ku and a-žong, are not used to denote kin of spouse (contrast a-ku cum-bo FyB, a-fyăt cum-bo WFyB, in Stocks), but a-nyu is used for FBW and MBW as well as for FSi, MSi, and Ml. Since a-nyu is not matched by a corresponding masculine term (a-fyăt is descriptive), it is likely that its use for Ml merely represents one aspect of its general honorific application.

The reciprocal term a-zong~ a-ngop is defined by Gorer as "levirate or sororate spouse", since it denotes the marriageable affinal kin of Ego. Gorer observes that "Azong is more commonly used when there is a generation between the speakers; Oong-op when they are of the same generation, but there is no uniformity about this". He further notes that the term is used for "wife of younger brothers of father or mother, of any man called 'aku' or 'ajong'". The implication here must be that the terms a-ku and a-zong are applied only to FyB and MyB, respectively; yet Gorer, after giving "father's (younger) brother" as the "direct meaning" of the term a-ku, notes that it is applied to "any man whom father calls 'brother'". Similarly, 601 a-nyu is defined as "(1) younger sister of parent; also any woman whom father or mother calls 'sister'". As explained by Gorer in the excerpt cited above, the term "father" (i.e. a-bo tim-bo) is applied to the father's elder brother even when living in a different house, while the father's younger brother under the same circumstances is called "uncle" (i.e. a-ku). Neither Stocks nor MG, however, make any similar distinction in the terms a-ku and a-zong. The apparent discrepancy is perhaps to be explained on the assumption that these terms in address are used only for FyB and MyB but in reference are applied to FB and MB without age distinction.

The term a-ngop < *ngap (oong-op in Gorer) is linguistically isolated (it may be cognate with Bahing ngwap-sya "cousin"), but a-zong has an interesting connection with the final element of kŭp-zong gCh and ong-zong Sbl (vide infra). It is quite distinct from a-žong MB, which is either cognate with or borrowed from Tib. 'a-žang (but MG mistakenly cites the meaning FSiH for a-zong rather than for a-žong). The basic meaning of zong ~ žang is "like, after the manner of", as in bik zong "like a cow" (bik "cow"). It is used also in the meaning "fellow, companion, one's own kind or sex", e.g. lom-zong "fellow-traveller" (lom "road"), tă-do zong "one's own people" (tă-do "self"), nŭm-zong "friends, relatives", nŭm-ma-zong "relatives (all the people with whom relation by descent can be traced)" (contrast nŭm-nu "blood relation", implying a person with whom sexual intercourse would be incestuous), a-hrăt-zong "male branch of family" (a-hrăt "bone", vide supra). The basic signification of the term a-zong is thus "the coupler", "one with whom coupling (copulation) is allowed". The o ~ ă alternation points to an original ŭ vocalism (vide the introductory remarks), hence we can safely identify this root with Tib. zung "a pair, a couple".

The reciprocal term ong-zong Sbl(ss) is applied both to SpSb(ss) and SbSp(ss). The element zong is here combined with ong "a child", which appears in a number of combinations, e.g. ong-kŭp "child", ong tă-yu (fem.) and ong tă-gri (masc.) "child from the ages of 3-10", ong nŭm-lyeng (fem.) and ong fă-lyeng (masc.) "young person from the age of 10 to maturity" (note nŭm-lyeng "girl, young female", but nŭm oB), ong-lot "children in a general sense". MG cites ong-zong simply as "companion, comrade, fellow-workman". The development of ong-zong Sbl from ong Ch parallels the use of nyom SW for yBW and of myok DH for ySiH (vide infra).

The terms nyom SW and myok DH have been analogously extended to include non-marriageable affinal kin of different sex from speaker, primarily yBW(ms) and ySiH(ws). The tendency toward serial equations in the affinal terminology thus appears here also; Ego(ms) equates his WF with his WoB, and his DH with his yBW.

It will be observed that a medial y element appears in three affinal terms, viz. a-fyăt, nyom, and myok. The

601 linguistic clue to these forms is given by the Lepcha causative formation with a so-called "infixed y", e.g. pok "to cast down", pyok "to cause to cast down"; t'or "to escape, get free", t'yor "to let go, set free" (Tib. t'ar-ba "to become free"); rop "to stick, adhere", ryop "to affix, attach"; nak "to be straight" , nyak "to make straight". Since infixation is entirely foreign to Tibeto-Burman morphology, these verbal forms stand in need of explanation. As described in the Introduction (pt. 1), the regular Tibeto-Burman causative formation involves the prefix s-, as in Tib. 'k'or-ba "to turn round", skor-ba "to surround"; 'p'ur-ba "to fly", spur-ba "to make fly" (Tibetan regularly has '- or m- intransitive prefix). The loss of prefixed s- may affect the initial; thus in Burmese the initial is aspirated, e.g. prań "to be full", p'rań "to fill"; lwat "to be free", hlwat "to set free". This phonetic effect is seen also in nominal forms, e.g. Burmese (a-)t'ong "1,000", Tib. stong; Burmese hna "nose", Tib. sna. Lepcha has only a few s- prefixed forms, of secondary origin, and there can be no question but that the loss of original s- prefix has palatalized the initials. The parallelism is sometimes seen in the same root, e.g. Lepcha nom "to smell" (intr.), nyom (tr.); Tib. mnam-pa "to smell" (intr.), snam-pa ~ snom-pa ~ snum-pa (tr.). The point is neatly demonstrated in the Lepcha form myǎn "to be ripe" (also a-mǎn "ripe,cooked"), which theoretically should be transitive rather than intransitive;

601 the anamoly is explained by Tib. smin-pa "to be ripe,ripen" (intr.), Burmese hmań ~ hmyań "to be ripe", which are similarly intransitive in meaning though transitive in form. Cf. also Lepcha nyo "snot", Tib. sna "nose", Burmese hna "nose" ; the semantic shift in the Lepcha word is indicated by (a-)nyo, expletive of (a-)mik "eye", which parallels Burmese myak-hna "face".

This long digression is required to clarify the terms a-fyăt Fl, nyom Dl, and myok Sl. The derivation nyom < *snam makes possible a direct comparison with Kanauri stem < *snem Dl and Gyarung snom < *snam Si, while myok < *smak (Tib. mag-pa) must be interpreted as an analogous development (but cf. Burmese sa-mak). The term (a-)fyăt indicates an original *sput (Lepcha f- and p- often interchange, e.g. far ~ a-far "price", par "to buy", cognate with Tib. p'ar "exchange, agio", Gyarung m-p'ar "to be for sale"), and *sput can be only a collective term (with morphological -t) paralleling Tib. spun Sb(ss), derived from p'u-bo oB. The equation of SpoB with SpF has been noted above. Lepcha (a-)fyăt < *sput Fl is thus partly analogical with (and cognate with) Tib. spun < p'u(-bo) oB, and partly analogical with Tib. skud-po Fl,Bl < k'u(-bo) FB.

The remaining affinal terms are (a-)yu W and (a-)vo H. The former is simply the root for "female" (tă-yu), cognate with the root *yu "female" that has appeared elsewhere (e.g. Kanauri yu-med Ml), perhaps also with Tib. yu-bo ~ yu-mo "ox or cow having no horns; hind, female of a stag". Lepcha

601 a-vo H is from a root *wa (v- < w-, as in vi "blood", TB *wi; vot "bee", Kanauri wăs "honey"), which appears in the meaning "male", also "father" in some of the groups discussed below. Lepcha tă-gri "male" is probably cognate with Tib. bgre-ba "to grow old" (Lepcha i = Tib. a, supra). The term bo F appears in the sense "entire non-emasculated animal", e.g. mon-bo "boar" (mon "pig"), and the variant (a-)bu is used for "male sex of animals". Lepcha also has (a-)tsu "the male of goats, pigs, sheep", e.g. lŭk a-tsu "ram" (lŭk "sheep").

Morphological -t suffixes appear in (a-)mit "female, woman of superior beings", e.g. rŭm-mit "goddess" (rŭm "god"), from a form *mi cognate with Tib. *me (in bud-med), which is represented also in the phrase nŭm-nu mim-yeng " relatives, connexions" (MG); and in (a-)mot "the female of animals" (sometimes of human beings, as in yu-mot "woman"), which is from a form *mo identical with mo < *ma M. The morphological -t group of terms in Lepcha thus includes (a-)fyăt < *spuy Pl, (a-)mit "female (human)", and (a-)mot "female (animal)".

The Tibetan loan-words in the Lepcha kinship terminology merit especial examination. The following terms have been recorded (we omit a-ku FB and a-zong MB, which are of doubtful status):

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Lepcha < Tibetan Terms

ma	M	p'a	F
yǔm	M (resp.)	yap	F (resp.)
mo-sŭng-mo	Si	p'a-ming	B
pǔn	Sb		
se	Ch (resp.)		
		ku-mok	Si

The terms ma M and p'a F, with the respectful equivalents yǔm (also yǎm) M and yap F, closely correspond to their Tibetan prototypes, while se "son or daughter of a great man" is merely a dialectical form of sras. Lepcha mo-sŭng-mo has been borrowed from Tib. sring-mo Si(ms) via a dialect of Central Tibetan ty[illegible] (probably Dĕnjonkă, spoken in Sikkim), as shown by the treatment of initial sr-; Lepcha has prefixed mo, and has changed the vocalism as in many other Tibetan loan-words, e.g. tsǔk-po < rtsig-pa "wall", k'ỵǔm < k'yim "house", yǔk < yig "letter". Lepcha p'a-ming is from Tib. p'a-ming "relations on the father's side". Gorer lists the Lepcha term as descriptive, and gives the following definition: "a collective word meaning either all true siblings or more usually all the males the person referred to calls anum and ing." The same authority defines mo-sŭng-mo (m'sung-mu) as "parallel to pa-ming, but referring exclusively to women and usually employed by women". Stocks gives mu-sang'-mu FBD, FSiD, a-num p'a-ming FBS, MBS, i.e. exclusively collateral terms, yet on p. 469 she states that "Pha-ming is an idiom......meaning the elder or younger brother, and the word musang-mu is another word denoting a sister of any age". MG defines mo-sŭng-mo as "sister, female cousin" (agreeing rather with Gorer), but for p'a-ming offers only the literal Tibetan translation "paternal name", though Grünwedel brings Tib. ming-po B(sw) into comparison. On the analogy with p'a-ming, the term mo-sŭng-mo can be analyzed as mo + sŭng-mo, with mo M for Tib. ma through the influence of the final -mo suffix. Tibetan does not have the compound ma-sring-mo, and employs p'a-ming only in its literal connotation ("father's name"). Gorer indicates that mo-sŭng-mo is employed by women rather than by men, whereas the Tibetan term (sring-mo) is exclusively a man's term. The Lepcha term nŭm-nu, lit. "oB and yB", has been extended to include blood relatives in general, hence a need may have been felt for a descriptive collective sibling term. In any case it is evident that considerable semantic distortion has taken place.

Lepcha pŭn, defined by MG as "brother and sister, hospitality", and used in the phrases ma-pŭn-zong "relations on mother's side", p'a-pŭn-zong (also p'a-păn-zăng) "paternal, belonging to the father", constitutes another good example of shift of meaning in loan-words. The Tibetan original is spun "brother, sisters (same sex); cousins, brothers- or sisters-in-law", and the corresponding phrases in Tibetan are ma-spun "brothers and sisters of the same mother", p'a-spun "brothers and sisters of the same father". The Tibetan word can be applied only to siblings of the same sex, while the Lepcha term includes siblings of both sexes (Tibetan renders this idea by ming-sring). The element pun further appears to enter into pŭn-se "relations" (MG), which must be equated with Gorer's term ptso, the designation for the exogamous patrilineal group. The form cited by Gorer is of non-Lepcha type and a borrowing is clearly indicated, though the final element -so (or -tso) has not yet been identified. Cf. Tibetan p'a-spun, similarly used for the patrilineal group (see the discussion in pt. 2).

The remaining Tibetan loan-word, ku-mok 51, is defined by MG as "a man who has not paid his marriage-fee", and ku-mok myok as "a son-in-law who has not paid his marriage-fee". In this source the term is derived from Tib. rku-mag(-pa), the first element standing for Tib. rku-ba "to steal". This compound does not exist in Tibetan, however, and is scarcely of Tibetan type. The form -mok must be regarded as a loan-word, contrasting with the native term myok (analyzed above), but the first element cannot be identified. Gorer (pp. 156-57) explains *komok myok* as a "resident son-in-law":

> In a family where there are no sons it is possible, if the parents so wish, that the groom, instead of taking the daughter away to his home, shall live permanently in the home of his parents-in-law, acting as their son, and eventually inheriting their property.

Gorer further observes that this arrangement "is not very popular or very common", and adds that there are only

601 two komok myok in the village of Lingthem, both maladjusted individuals. As shown above (pt. 3), Kanauri has similarly borrowed the Tibetan term in the form mak-pa, used in precisely the same sense. The inference must be that this cultural item has diffused from Tibet along with the term used to designate it, though the Tibetan term itself naturally lacks this precise connotation. The parallelism in groups so distinct as Kanauri and Lepcha is especially worthy of attention.

The Lepcha kinship terminology, which has been presented above in some detail, closely reflects the marriage regulations and incest ideas of this people. The patrilineal clan (ptso) is an exogamic unit, in practice if not strictly in theory:

> In theory people of the same ptso are allowed to marry if they are separated by nine generations from a common ancestor, and to indicate that a person of the same ptso is very far removed a Lepcha will always say 'we can marry'; but in point of fact I did not come upon nor hear of a single instance of two people of the same ptso marrying. It was generally stated that though such a marriage was permissive, people would feel shame in it. (Gorer, p. 148)

There are also matrilineal restrictions on marriage, though these are apparently less severe. Gorer (p. 148) states:

> It is allowable to marry back into a mother's ptso after four generations; but so near a connection is considered somewhat shameless. Datoop's father, the first Dorjé Lapoon, took as his second wife a woman he called 'aunt' (a-nyou); his grandmother was a sister of her mother. This marriage was considered quite shameless, and even nearly sixty years later was a subject for embarrassment; but it demanded no sanctions against it, such as would have been invoked if the connection had been on the father's side.

601 Stocks (p. 469) states that cross-cousin marriage (assumedly MBCh) is permitted on rare occasions:

> .....the Lap-cha is not permitted to marry his cross-cousin, though should one be a widow having no children, the matter could be gone into by a council of the village folk, who would come together and discuss it, permitting it to take place on occasions.

The lack of cross-cousin marriage is correlated with the lack of any significant categorical equations. As indicated above, the use of a-nyu for Mi, FBW, and MBW, as well as FSi, MSi, merely reflects the peculiarly honorific nature of this term, which in turn is dependent on its etymology (a-nyo, an expletive of vi "blood", used to denote the uterine lineage). The merging of the collateral and the central lines in the sibling terms is also consistent with these bilateral marriage restrictions.

The Lepcha regulations affecting affinal kin reflect a single fundamental distinction, viz. that between siblings of different birth order. The Lepcha are ordinarily monogamous, though (sororal) polygyny and even polyandry may be practised under certain conditions. Both the levirate and sororate are in force, however, and a man has free sexual access to all his potentially hereditable wives. Gorer (p. 169) states the regulations as follows:

> Among the Lepchas a man can inherit the wives of all his elder brothers, real or classificatory, the wives of all his paternal and maternal uncles real or classificatory, provided these 'uncles' are younger than his parents but not younger than himself, and all the younger sisters of his wife, real or classificatory. Conversely a woman can be inherited by all her husband's younger brothers, all the sons of her husband's uncles, and all the husbands of her elder sisters, real or classificatory.

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Infractions of these regulations are regarded as fully incestuous, even though no blood relatives are involved. Terminologically, the potential spouse is designated by an especial term, a-zong ~ a-ngop, which may have originally shown a distinction between potential spouses of the same generation as Ego and those of a different generation (see the discussion above), and the remaining affinal kin, of different sex from Ego, are equated in accordance with age distinctions. Thus, a man equates his yBW and SbSW with his SW (nyom), and his WoSi with his WM (a-nyu), while a woman equates her ySiH and SbDH with her DH (myok), and her HoB with her HF (a-bo, before birth of child; t'i-kung, after birth of child).

Gorer develops the theory that the jus connubii enjoyed by the younger brother represents a social device serving to reduce intra-group friction. The gist of his argument is given in the following excerpt:

> I have already suggested that the ptso was possibly earlier a geographical unit; if this were the case, it seems to me possible that these permissive regulations [jus connubii] were evolved to meet the special circumstances. For, with the ptso as the geographical unit, the young men would have had no possible sexual partners except through adultery or incest; and, as numerous examples show, such situations inevitably lead to jealousy, fighting, and the splitting of the group. By their regulations, the Lepchas have reduced intra-group aggression to the minimum. The potential rivalry between father and son is mitigated by taking the arrangements for the child's marriage entirely out of the parents' hands [they are in the hands of the paternal or maternal uncles] ; the potential rivalry between brothers is mitigated by allowing the younger brother access to his more favoured and stronger elder brother's wife, while making the relationship between an elder brother and his younger sister-in-law strongly incestuous. (pp. 161-62)

601 This explanation appears to be something of a rationalization, i.e. the fact that the younger brother may have exclusive rights to certain females seems to be incidental. The Lepcha regard marriage as "not only a contract between two individuals, but also a contract between two groups" (Gorer, p. 158). The rights to sexual intercourse merely represent one aspect of the group rights in general, but these rights are regulated by the dominant age distinctions, hence the general preferential status of the elder sibling (elder child) is reflected in the marriage regulations. Thus, a man has sexual access to his WySi but not to his WoSi, and a woman is accessible to her HyB but not to her HoB. From the purely masculine point of view (that in Gorer), however, the yB (HyB) has access to his oBW, while the oB (HoB) does not have access to his yBW; from the feminine point of view, the ySi (WySi) is accessible to her oSiH, while the oSi (WoSi) is not accessible to her ySiH. The Lepcha point of view is not so much that of two lines (bilateral) as of two lineages or clans (ptso), each of whom contributes a partner to the marriage; the age distinctions must be observed regardless of whether this partner is male or female.

Where affinal kin of two different generations are involved the principle of age distinctions is applied somewhat differently. The gap of a generation necessitates an adjustment in the concept of age. Actually, a man equates his FyB(os) with his own oB, and his FyB(ys) with his own yB. A man may inherit his FyBW only if his FyB is not younger than himself. Neither FoBW nor FyBW are listed by Gorer (p. 151) as blood relatives with whom sexual relations are considered incestuous, hence we can assume that a man has sexual access to but may not marry the wife of his FyB(ys). At one point the age principle comes into conflict with a Lepcha aversion toward the sharing of a single female by a father and son. The situation is not regarded as really incestuous, but is socially frowned upon. Gorer makes the following observation:

> It is considered very wicked, though the act will only affect the actual performers [incest affects the community as a whole], for a man and his son to sleep with the same woman, or a mother and her daughter with the same man; if this is done the line will die out. This situation does however occur occasionally......Although such behaviour is very disgraceful instances of it are recounted with considerable relish, and not with the shocked embarrassment with which stories of true incest are recounted; it is a bad thing to do, but there is something rather attractive and dare-devil about it. (p. 152)

Since a son theoretically has access to his father's elder brothers' wives, it is apparent that a conflict can sometimes arise. The Lepcha solve the problem in a rather awkward fashion, by having the father inform his son as to which of these potential spouses he has slept with; if the father has slept with any of these wives, the son is forbidden access to her (Gorer, p. 153). Since the Lepcha male seldom fails to take full advantage of his fraternal rights (cf. Gorer, pp. 160 sq.) the theoretical conflict must fail to

601 materialize in most instances, provided that the son be adequately forewarned. In any event the situation is an awkward one, even though the Lepcha are not reticent about their sexual life. It indicates, perhaps, that the principle of age-distinction is not yet fully integrated in a society which in most respects forms a well-knit unit (Gorer does not develop the point).

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[1] [For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, All Southeast Asia All - Analyst]

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6. Miri and northern Assam

197 The mountainous country of northern Assam, dissected by a number of small river valleys opening southward on the plain of the Brahmaputra, is inhabited by several distinct [101] Tibeto-Burman-speaking groups. From west to east, these groups are as follows: Aka, Dafla, Abor-Miri, and Mishmi, the last-named being an inclusive term for two distinct groups, viz. Digaro and Miju. Dafla and Abor-Miri constitute a single linguistic unit (Mirish), but Aka, Digaru, and Miju are all independent. The last three languages have not been well recorded, and hence it is possible that additional information will enable us to reduce the number of distinct linguistic entities in this area. The Dhimal language, spoken in the Darjeeling Terai, has also been considered in this connection (Toto, a little known language of Dhimal type, is spoken in the Baxa subdivision of Jalpaiguri, i.e. in northeastern Assam). Like Aka, Digaro, and Miju, the Dhimal group has no especial affinities for any of the surrounding languages.

The Mirish complex includes at least two distinct languages, viz. Abor-Miri and Dafla, and at least two distinct dialects within each of these languages. Abor-Miri is fairly well known through the works of Lorrain and Needham. Lorrain's dictionary is based on Miri, which is essentially the language of the plains people as opposed to Abor, the language of the hills people. Needham's work is in the main

197 based on Miri, with a scattering of Abor forms, as can be determined through collation with the forms for Abor cited in Needham and with the Abor and Miri lists in Robinson.

Abor-Miri is clearly allied with Kachin, Burmese, Kuki and the other languages to the south rather than with Tibetan and the languages of the sub-Himalayas. It is phonetically aberrant, having undergone a number of secondary sound-shifts particularly as a result of fluctuation in prefixes. There have also been changes of vocalism in this group, which in many cases have resulted in the development of mixed or rounded front vowels (especially ü ~ ui), and final -a is sometimes shifted to -o (as in Lepcha). Some of these features are discussed in the annotations below.

601 Miri Consanguineal Terms

(a-)yo yo-ku	ggM			(a-)to to-ku	ggF
(a-)yo	gM			(a-)to	gF
(a-)nǎ	M,MSi			(a-)bu	F,FB
				(a-)bu bot-tǎ(-nǎ)	FoB
				(a-)bu riang	FyB
				(a-)bu ame(-nǎ)	
(a-)nyi	FSi			(a-)kü	MB
buir-mǎ	Si,pC			buir-o	B,pC
		ša-ši	oEb	kakai	oB
		ǎng-ǎ	ySb		
ma-mo	xCi(os)			mag-bo	xCe(os)
ying-nă	xCi(ys)			yi-go	xCe(ys)
o-mǎ	D,pNi			a-o	S,pNe
ü-mǎ	xNi,gD			ü-yo	xNe,gS
				nati	gS

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Miri Affinal Terms

(a-)nyi	Ml	(a-)kü	Fl
ma-mo	oSil	mag-bo	oBl
ying-nă	ySil	yi-go	yBl
ya-măng	Dl	mag-bo	Sl

Notes:

193 601 The forms given in the above table are those with a-prefix. Miri has a curious tendency to prefix a reduplicated version of the root, substituting a for the vowel of the root. Alternative forms developed in this way exist for almost all the primary terms cited above; thus, a-to ~ ta-to gF, a-yo ~ ya-yo (also written a-io ~ ya-io) gM, a-bu ~ ba-bu F, a-nă ~ na-nă M, a-kü ~ ka-kü MB, a-nyi ~ nya-nyi FSi, and a-o S (coinciding with the a-prefix form). Instead of reduplicating the consonant as an initial, Miri often simply doubles the consonant as a medial, e.g. a-to ~ at-to gF, a-bu ~ ab-bu F, a-nă ~ an-nă M, o-me ~ om-me D (in which the first element is o Ch). A further distinctive feature is the occasional addition of a suffix ă (distinct from a), which is both a vocative and nominative case particle as well as the standard copula ("to be"). This suffix appears alone in ăng-ă ySb, which should perhaps on this account be classified as a term used only in address. Final -o becomes -u before this suffix, e.g. buir-o B, but no ngok buir-u ă "you are my brother"; a-o S, but bui ngok a-u ă "he is my son".

The grandparent terms, a-to and a-yo, must be referred back to the roots *ta (cf. Tibetan, Tsangla) and *ya (cf. Himalayish), both of which are used as P rather than as gP terms (Tib. ˀa-ta F, Himalayish ya M). These terms are almost certainly of teknonymous origin, in view of the exact parallel furnished by Abor (infra); note also that Pagro Miri (in Lorrain) uses yo as the vocative term for M. As a verb, the term to means "to care for, respect, fear, revere, regard". The ggP terms can be abbreviated to to-ku ggF and yo-ku ggM, the element -ku standing for ku "full-grown (as tree); old; original, ancient". According to the material cited by Lorrain, Abor applies teknonymous terms based on a-bu F and a-nă M, viz. a-bu gF, a-nă gM, a-bu bu-ku ~ bu-ku ggF, a-nă na-ku ~ nă-ku ggM, though ta-ta (Miri ta-to) is retained as the vocative term for gF.

Miri a-nă M illustrates the short final -ă that occasionally appears in this language (cf. an-nă "leaf", TB *na). This term is of the "nursery word" type; cf. Almora na (pt. 3). Abor, which uses a-nă for gM (supra), has retained a form with labial initial, viz. ma-mi, from TB *me. The term a-bu ~ ba-bu F stands in need of explanation, since the form should be *a-bo (Lorrain does cite an alternative form ab-bo). The sex-suffixes, used primarily with the names of lower animals, are bo (masc.) and nă (fem.), which are here, as in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, equivalent to the terms for "father" and "mother", respectively. Furthermore, 60| Miri -u < TB -a is not a recognized phonetic development for this language, whereas -o < -a is of frequent occurence; cf. a-to gF, TB *ta; a-yo gM, TB *ya M; ngo "I", TB *nga; a-ngo "5", TB *nga; o-ngo "fish", TB *ngya; no "thou", TB *na; yo "night", TB *ya; a-lo "salt", TB *la. The influence of a final suffixed -a might be suspected (see the discussion above), yet this suffix does not actually appear in either parent term. We are forced to conclude that the phonetic form has been influenced by the Indic term babu F, the reduplicated term *ba-bo serving as a basis. Lorrain cites ya-yi as the Abor term for F, a-bu having been employed in the meaning gF (supra); it appears to be identical with Miri yai FoB.

Both a-nă M and a-bu F are extended to include the parallel aunt and uncle, but combined terms showing age distinctions are also used for FB. The Miri distinguish among a-bu bottă-nă FoB (bottă-nă "great, large, big"), a-bu riang FyB (next younger) (apparently from a verbal root meaning "overshadow"), and a-bu ame-nă FyB (younger than above) (ame-nă "small, little"). Whether these distinctions, which are of a type not previously met, are connected with any social functions cannot be determined. Needham cites yai FoB, pai FyB (Robinson pai "uncle"). The former is evidently the same as Abor ya-yi F, reduplicated from *yi. The latter agrees with Abor pai-ong FyB (next younger) (ong "to fall, decrease"), pai-i FyB (younger than above) (i "down"). These Abor phrases parallel the Miri vocative terms o-lum-ă oCh (lum "on"), oi-ă yCh (o-i "youngest, last born"), based on o Ch. The roots yai and pai cannot be analyzed, however; the latter may have been influenced by Assamese (Indic) bopai F, which in Miri etymologizing might readily yield bo F plus an element pai.

Miri has retained both TB terms for "aunt" and "uncle", viz. a-nyi FSi, a-kü MB (as in Bahing and Vayu, rather than FB). Robinson cites a-nye "aunt", which agrees in vocalism with Tib. ʼa-ne. The -ü < -u shift and loss of aspiration found in the term a-kü (Tib. ʼa-k'u) are typical of Miri phonology; cf. Miri (mik-)ki ~ Abor (mui-)kü "smoke", TB *(mei-)k'u; Miri (pă-)kü "dove, pigeon", TB *k'u.

Miri is unusual in possessing the general terms buir-o B and buir-mă Si (cf. o S, a-mă "small", used as suffix). The element buir- cannot be identified; the original may have been either *bur or *bir, cf. the alternation shown in Miri a-min, Abor a-muin "name", Tib. *ming; pui-nyi "8" for pi-nyi ("4 x 2"), etc. It appears also in a-buir "friend", and Abor a-buil "slave" (cf. Miri a-muir "body", Abor a-muil). Age distinctions are shown only by the neuter terms ša-ši oSb (reduplicated from a form *ši) and ǎng-ă ySb (with vocative suffix -ă). The former appears also in ši-rum "a generation" (rum "layer, storey"). The latter may be cognate with Lepcha ong < *ang Ch, but cf. also Murmi, Gurung a-nga ySi. Needham gives yai oB (= FoB), buir-mǎ yai oSi, and Abor has bui-buing (Robinson a-bing "brother") oB (a-bui "to be elder or eldest"). Lorrain, however, cites only the Assamese (Indic) loan-word kakai oB.

The sibling terms are extended to include parallel cousins. Needham cites buir-o kum-šu "cousin", but for the same term Lorrain gives only "brothers", parallel with buir-mă kum-šu "sisters". The term kum-šu "together" (šu "self or selves", as verbal particle; also "a couple, pair") appears also in other collective terms, viz. a-bu kum-šu "father and children", a-nă kum-šu "mother and children", a-o kum-šu "mother and son", om-mă kum-šu "mother and daughter".

Cross-cousins are denoted by an entirely distinct set of terms, in which both age and sex are distinguished. Ma-mo xCi(os) stands for *mang-mo, the feminine of mag-bo xCe(os). The assimilation of final -g to -ng before a following nasal is regular for Miri (cf. rok-po "cock", rong-na "hen"), and the dropping of final -ng is of frequent occurrence; cf. a-rung "hole", but a-ru lo "in the hole"; a-pong "beer", but a-po si "that beer". These two terms have been introduced from the affinal terminology (infra). Ying-nă xCi(ys) and yi-go xCe(ys) form another pair, but the analysis here is more difficult. If the root be regarded as *ying, a development ying-go > yig-go > yi-go can be postulated, the final -go perhaps standing for ko Ch in the sense "male child". The root *ying thus extracted is comparable with Tsangla ying, Lepcha yeng ySb.

601 The basic root for " child" is o, which is used verbally in the meaning "to bear, give birth to", also "to feed, rear". Another root, ko "child, baby, young", yields ko mi-long "boy", ko mi-ma "girl" (in Needham, but Abor forms). These roots both illustrate the o < a shift found in Miri; they can be compared with Digaro a Ch and Newari ka Ch, respectively.

The Miri equation of gCh with xN closely parallels the Tibetan use of ts'a for gCh,N. Abor, if we can rely on the material in Lorrain, employs o for S,gS,pxNe, and om-mă o for D,gD,pxNi, thus extending the primary term o Ch in two directions. Miri not only distinguishes between S and gS,xNe, but also between xNe and pNe. The terms o-šăng pNe, om-mă o-šăng pNi (šăng "up") give us a clue to the peculiar ü- of the gCh,xN terms. As indicated above in the discussion of FB terms, Miri tends to identify "elder" with "up", and "younger" with "down", whence the vocative terms o-lum-a oCh (a-lum "on") and oi-a yCh (o-i "youngest, last born", from i "down"). As shown above, o becomes u before the final particle -ă, and the addition of the element i (i "down") would certainly yield the ü- found in ü-yo and ü-ma. Thus it would seem that in Miri the parallel nephew is called "child-above" (= "elder child"), while the cross nephew is equated with the grandson and called "child-below" (= "younger child"). It is clear that Miri lacks a primary term for gCh. Both Lorrain and Needham cite the Assamese loan-word nati gS, and Needham

601 adds the remarks that the "Miris have no word [for this English meaning]". In this instance the borrowing seems to have been made in response for a need, and the same can be said of kakai oB (supra).

The affinal terminology exhibits so many categorical equations that no new primary terms appear. Needham distinguishes between mak-bo oBl and o-mă mak-bo Sl (i.e. the mak-bo of o-mǎ D). Lorrain gives mak-bo xCe(os) but mag-bo oBl,Sl. We can safely infer that a single term, mak-bo ~ mag-bo, blankets all three relationships (xCe(os), oBl,Sl). The term ya-măng Dl probably is to be analyzed ya ~ mang(-mo), the second element being identical with ma-mo < *mang-mo xCi(os). The element ya- appears also in ya-mă "youth, young man", but cannot be analyzed further. Abor meng W may be connected with *mǎng; Miri has nǎng ~ něng "wife, female, woman"; cf. Lepcha mo-nang "female who has reached the highest point of youth and is commencing to descend to senility", Byangsi mi-nang šri "wife". Abor mi-long H, also used as a masculine suffix, is composed of (a-)mi "man (homo)" and -long < *lang "male", a root found also in Nung and Burmese. The Miri form mil-bong H appears to have been metathesized.

As in Lepcha, the grandparent terms may teknonymously be applied to the parents-in-law. Miri has a-to gF, also Fl, and a-yo gM, also Ml. Abor uses the vocative gF term, ta-ta, for Fl (rather than the descriptive term, a-bu).

601 The virtually complete equation of consanguineal and affinal terms, the distinction between parallel and cross cousins, and the strong emphasis on age distinctions, are the outstanding features of Miri kinship terminology. Cross-cousin marriage can be predicted on the basis of this terminology, and does in fact occur. Dunbar makes two different statements that point in this direction:

> I have gathered, but I am not altogether satisfied, that the Galongs intermarry with their maternal, and not with their paternal relations. (p. 9)

> I was told by the Dobangs that they are prohibited from marrying blood connexions on the male side, which means women of their own group. They marry from amongst their mother's people, who are as a rule of the same clan...... If his mother has a married brother, he may marry a daughter of the marriage.

The last statement indicates that the marriage of SiS to BD is the preferred type. Lorrain makes the following annotations on the cross-cousin terms: "A man may marry his *yingne*" (p. 236); "A man may marry his *mamo*" (p. 131); "A girl's *yigo* is supposed to marry her" (p. 236); "A girl's *mâkbo* is supposed to marry her" (p. 130). The last two annotations suggest that cross-cousin marriage is obligatory rather than optional.

We unfortunately have no exact information on Abor-Miri marriage practices. Dunbar notes the existence of polygyny, including sororal polygyny, but not of polyandry, and describes what may be the practice of sister exchange:

> When he marries, an Abor incurs the obligation to provide, from among his immediate relations, a wife for some member of his bride's family. (p. 56)

601 No material is at hand for an explanation of the marked age distinctions shown in the Abor-Miri terminology and the equation of Dl, Sl with oSil, oBl, respectively (contrast Lepcha). If we assume that the eldest son and eldest daughter are ordinarily married before their younger siblings, the terms Dl and Sl might be tagged on them as epithets, and the younger sibling would simply employ the term used by his father. This inverse teknonymy also appears in the grandparent terms (supra). In any event, we can be sure that these terms (mag-bo, ma-mo ~ ya-mǎng) were originally affinal, in view of their connection with the Tibeto-Burman root *mag Sl. The corresponding terms, ying-nǎ and yi-go, however, may originally have been consanguineal; cf. Tsangla ying, Lepcha yeng ySb.

Dunbar describes exogamous septs among the Abor and Galongs (a division of the Abor), and similar descriptions are given by Allen, Cumming (in Lloyd), and Baraloi (in Lloyd). Allen states that the exogamous group consists of "persons who claim descent from a common ancestor in the male line" (p. 139). The Miri term for this patrilineal group is perhaps o-puin, defined by Lorrain as "clan, tribe, species, kind, sort, relation, fellow tribesman or clansman, descendants", apparently derived from o "child" and puin "to agree, to arrange (used of large number of people" (cf. Tib. p'a-spun, Lepcha pun-so ~ p-tso). Dunbar gives an interesting piece of information in this connection,

Dafla

601 namely that the prefix used in the father's personal name is retained in the son's name, e.g. Ma-du is the son of Ma-lut, Du-ten is the son of Du-gong, whereas the women's names all have ~~the~~ prefix ya- (among the Minyong, a division of the Abor); the prefix ya- used in this manner is comparable with the first element of ya-mǎng D1.

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197 The Dafla language is spoken west of the Miri, in the area between the Subansiri and Borheli rivers. It exists in two main dialects, viz. a western (Yano) and an eastern (Tagen), both recorded by Hamilton and Bor, and the former 601 also by Robinson. Dafla stands so close to Abor-Miri that its kinship terminology should be of especial interest, yet the recording has been so poor and the variation in forms is so great that little of value can be extracted from it. An examination of the tables in McSwiney, for Dafla, Miri, Kachin, and other languages, has shown that this source is untrustworthy. The terminological equations given there (without the terms) offer occasional clues, but these clues must be checked from other sources.

The Yano Dafla consanguineal terms are listed below (the affinal are too poorly known to repay listing):

Dafla

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Dafla Consanguineal Terms

(a-)yo	gM	(a-)to	gF
(a-)ně	M	(a-)bo	F
		(a-)bong	FoB
hmei	MSi	tě-tě	FyB
(a-)ma	FSi	kŭi	MB
		(a-)bong	oB
(a-)mě	oSi,FBD(os)	tě-tě	oB,FBS(os)
bŏr-mě	ySi,FBD(ys)	bŏr-o	yB,FBS(ys)
(a-)mo	MSiD	hen-yeng	MSiS
mao	xCi	yao	xCe
nyĕ-mě kao	D	ngě-ga kao	S

Notes:

The forms given above have been normalized, e.g. the secondary doubling of consonants has been disregarded (a-ma for am-ma, tě-tě for tět-tĕ). Bor often makes imaginary distinctions and frequently cites a single term under two or more forms; thus, ayo FM but aio MM (for a-yo gM), abong FoB but abung ~ abŏng oB.

The tendency to equate parents' siblings with Ego's siblings is a distinctive Dafla feature. Thus, tĕ-tĕ FyB (Bor), oB (Robinson), and a-bong FoB,oB, connected with Abor bui-buing oB. Robinson cites a-ma (rather than a-mĕ) oSi, a-bo a-ma FSi, a-nĕ a-ma MSi, i.e. purely descriptive terms. Robinson further gives pai FB (Abor pei FyB), and ně-ta MB (apparently ně M plus the augmentative suffix -ta).

Dafla

601 The latter is comparable with Tagen (Eastern Dafla) a-ta FSi, and the form at-tĕ FSi cited in Bor (p. 46). Tagen also has p'ĕ-di FoB, p'ai-lyo FyB. Miri a-nyi FSi is unrepresented in Dafla, but Miri a-kŭ MB is matched by Yano kŭi, Tagen ak-kĕ.

The Dafla sibling and cousin terminology differs considerably from that found in Abor-Miri. The element bŏr (Miri buir) is restricted to the ySb terms, separate terms are used for oSi and oB, and neuter terms are lacking. The sibling terms are applied only to the parallel cousins on the paternal side (FBD, FBS), distinct terms are used for the corresponding maternal cousins (MSiD, MSiS), and age distinctions are not made in the xC terms. The Dafla nephew and grandson terms are not known.

Most of the lexical elements that appear in these terms cannot be identified with any certainty. The term kao Ch combines both the *ka and *a (o) roots; the Tagen dialect has simply ko (Bor), ka (Hamilton). The xC terms yao and mao also seem to contain the element o Ch; cf. Tagen ko nya-ga FSiS, ko nyĕm' FSiD (but Tagen equates cross and parallel cousins in the terms nyĕb-bĕ MBS, MSiS, nyĕn-nĕ ~ nyĕn-ni MBD, MSiD). Dafla ang-a Ch (Robinson) appears to be connected with Miri ăng-ă ySb.

Only a few affinal terms are known. Dafla a-yo (aio) Ml, MBW (= gH) shows that teknonymy is in force here as in Abor-Miri (according to the tables in McSwiney, Fl = gF). Tagen also equates Ml and gM (ai), but classifies MBW with

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601 FBW (nyě-xě). Yano has nyě-tě FBW (cf. tě-tě), and ma-cung FSiH, MSiH (cf. a-ma FSi, and the diminutive suffix -cung). Tagen ma-bo FSiH, ma-pa MSiH, are similarly based on (a-)ma. Dafla nyě-lo H (Tagen nyo-lě) is perhaps directly cognate with Miri mil-bong, Abor mi-long, but nyě-fung (Tagen nyi-xö) is new. The Dafla terms for SiH, Bl and Dl, Sl have not been recorded.

The significance of those deviations from the Abor-Miri terminology shown by Dafla cannot be gauged, inasmuch as we know almost nothing of Dafla marriage regulations and clan organization. Nevill (in Lloyd) reports (p. xi) that they are "hardly divided into clans but certain sections are given a general name", also "They are divided into many exogamous groups called nyobu" (Bor cites nyě-bu "clan").

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The so-called Mishmi tribes inhabit the country north of the Brahmaputra and east of the Dibang, extending eastwards around the great bend of the Brahmaputra and thus coming into contact with the Kachin and Nung of Upper Burma. The tribes variously called Digaru, Chulikata, Midu, Bedu, constitute a single linguistic unit (Digaro), while the Miju (M'ju) make up an entirely distinct linguistic unit (Miju). As indicated by the general application of a single name, Mishmi, these several tribes appear to have undergone considerable ethnic fusion, without, however, a loss of linguistic distinction. Our scant information is derived

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197 from the works of Needham (s. a.) and Robinson, the LSI
601 having supplied no original material. We shall tabulate only the consanguineal terms of Digaro (the Taying rather than the Chulikata dialect).

601

Digaro Consanguineal Terms

(na-)iya	gM	(na-)ta	gF
(na-)ma	M, MSi	(na-)ba	F
		(na-)da	FB
		(na-)ku	MB
(na-)bi	oSi	(na-)pu	oB
ma-t'ie	ySi	pa-mro	yB
mi-ya a	D	ma-wa a.	S

Notes:

The prefix na- that appears in many of the above terms stands for na "thy". Note that Digaro, which has retained final -a, shows some of the Abor-Miri terms in their pristine forms; thus, (na-)iya (=ya) gM, Abor-Miri a-yo; (na-)ta gF, Abor-Miri a-to; (na-)ba F, Abor-Miri a-bu < a-bo, Dafla a-bo; a Uh, Abor-Miri o. The sibling terms are all distinct; except for (na-)pu oB, Tib. p'u-bo (cf. the unaspirated initial of na-ku MB), they are of uncertain origin. Digaro mi-ya "woman" (mi-ya a "daughter, girl", ha-mi-ya ~ ha-mya "wife") seems to be identical with Rai me-ya, Burmese ma-ya^3 "wife", while ma-wa ~ mo-wa "male" (ma-wa a S, ha-ma-wa H) contains an element -wa that appears

Mishmi AR12

601 also in Kachin (infra). The Tibeto-Burman root *la "male", which plays an important role in the languages to the south, appears in Digaro only in connection with "fowl" (inteo tala "cock").

Our gleanings from Miju are even more meagre. A curious -ai vocalization appears in (ke-)pai F, (k-)mai "woman" (ke-k-mai "wife", sa-mai "daughter"), (ke-)ro-wai "husband" (ro-wai "male"); cf. lai "moon", and the short vowels in Burmese b'a' F, ma' "female", la' "moon". The Tibeto-Burman root *nu "mother" appears here for the first time (Robinson nu-nu, Needham naũ, with secondary nasalization after the nasal initial). We also find sa S (mai-sa D), probably from Tibeto-Burman *za rather than *ts'a. The masculine suffix, nga-long, is connected with a root *lang "male" found also in Nung (infra), and compare the Lepcha suffix -long, as in tyang-mo long "male elephant" (Lepcha long < *lang).

A brief note on the clan organization of the Mishmi tribes has been contributed by O'Callaghan (in Lloyd). The following item refers to the Chulikata and Bebejiya (Digaro group):

> They are divided into septs or families rather than clans. They are numerically small tribes and endogamous. When the septs were smaller, they had to marry out; now men take wives of the same sept if they are only distantly related. (p. xii)

Of the Taroan and Miji (Miju group), the same authority writes:

> These tribes are divided into endogamous groups and exogamous septs or families. (p. xiii)

Miri ARII
Aka

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The Aka (Hrusso) are a hill people living in the angle formed by Assam and Bhutan, between the latter country and the Dafla Hills. They are thus the westernmost of the northern Assam tribes. Their language, which has suffered extreme phonetic change, has been most inadequately recorded by Anderson and Hesselmeyer, and a little original material is found in the LSI. Only the consanguineal terms have been sufficiently well recorded to be tabulated.

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Aka Consanguineal Terms

(a-)mi	M	au	F
(a-)ma	oSi	(a-)lu	oB
nu-mi	ySi	nu	yB
sa-mi	D	sau	S
		sau-dau	gS

Notes:

The termination -au has been derived from a-wa; thus, au < *a-wa F, sau < *sa-wa S, sau-dau < *sa-wa-da-wa gS. The term sa-mi (also sam) D is directly comparable with Nung za-mi, Burmese sa-mi^3. The combined terms muhu-sa S (muhu "male"), mimi-sa D (mi-mi "woman") are also in use, while anga-sa Ch contains an element comparable with Dafla ang-a Ch, Miri ǎng-ǎ ySb. Anderson (text, p. 18) cites the curious term ma-p'u-za mim-da "boys and girls"; for -da, cf. sau-dau (written seuden) "grandchild". The affiliations

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Miri AR11
Dhimal

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of (a-)ni M and (a-)ma oSi are uncertain. The terms nu yB, nu-mi ySi, exactly parallel Tib. nu and nu-mo.

Our ethnographic information on the Aka is correspondingly meagre. Nevill's description (in Lloyd) is not very clear:

> There are strictly neither exogamous or endogamous divisions, but social grades exist and one sub-clan will not marry, into another lower (socially) clan or sub-clan; an equal clan or a different tribe, e.g. Miri, will be chosen. (p. x)

It is greatly to be regretted that we lack adequate material on the marriage regulations of these northern Assam peoples, who are both geographically and linguistically intermediate between the peoples of Tibet and the sub-Himalayas and those of Assam and Burma.

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Dhimal, spoken in the Darjeeling Terai, is known only from the record made by Hodgson almost a century ago. It is a small independent linguistic unit of much the same type as the languages which have just been examined. Toto, which is spoken to the south in the Baxa subdivion of Jalpaiguri (Assam), is an outlying member of the Dhimal stock. Dhimal has been strongly influenced by the neighboring Koch (Indic) language, from which it has borrowed about half its kinship terms. These loan-words are underlined in the table below.

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Dhimal

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Dhimal Consanguineal Terms

ajai	gM	aju	gF
(a-)ma	M	(a-)ba	F
maušī	MSi	jet'a dado	FB
pisai	FSi	mama	MB
ri-ma	Si	yo-la	B

dai C

cam-di	D	cen	S
		nati	gS
bhatij	BD	bhatija	BS
		bhagina	SiS

Dhimal Affinal Terms

		ju-wa	Fl
		piša	FSiH
be	W	ko	H
sali	Sil	sala	Bl
		hma-wa	Sl

601 Notes:

Unlike some of the terminologies previously examined, that of Dhimal shows an equal distribution of loan-words in the masculine and feminine terms. All the parents' siblings terms have been borrowed. Although defined by Hodgson simply as "uncle", the terms jet'a and dado undoubtedly stand for jet'o FeB (Koch) and dadai FyB

Kachari AR6
Dhimal

601 (Assamese). Mamu MB is based on Koch mama, with a shift from -a to -u that is reminiscent of that found in Byangsi kaku FyB (supra), perhaps through analogy with babu F (Indic). Ri-ma Si can be compared with Tib. sring-mo Si(ms), the final -ng having perhaps been absorbed in the nasal suffix. Toto has ing Si, perhaps from hring < sring, and aapu oB (Tib. p'u-bo), e^{7} yB. Dhimal can S represents a morphological development from Tibeto-Burman *ts'a (cf. Tib. ts'an); Toto has ca-õ ~ ca-oa S, cai-me^{7} D.

The affinal terms ju-wa Fl and hma-wa Sl contain the Tibeto-Burman root *wa "male" (cf. Digaro), which appears also in wa-jan "boy (jan=can), wa-val "man". The term be W similarly appears in be-jan "girl", be-val "woman", but ko H cannot be analyzed. Dhimal hma-wa Sl must be regarded as directly cognate with Tib. mag-pa, though the initial unvoiced consonant (hm-) indicates an original *smag rather than *mag (cf. Lepcha myok < *smag). The loss of the final velar stop is regular for Dhimal; cf. Dhimal mi, Toto mi(-cui) "eye", Tib. mig; Dhimal tu(-long), Toto ţu "6", Tib. drug; Dhimal pa(-ya) "hog", Tib. p'ag.

Risley describes the Dhimal as having four exogamous septs, and as reckoning prohibitive degrees of marriage down to seven generations on the paternal side and three on the maternal side. A statement found in Hodgson, however, does not thus preclude the possibility of cousin marriage.

> Neither Bodo nor Dhimal can marry beyond the limits of his own people......Within those limits only two or three of the closest natural ties are deemed a bar to marriage. (p. 159)

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7. Kachin (with a note on Kadu)

197 [101] Kachin may conveniently be regarded as the 'hub' of the Tibeto-Burman linguistic 'wheel'. It is the dominant language of northern Burma, and thus is so placed as to have connections with the northern Assam languages on the west, the Konyak and Barish languages on the southwest, Nung on the north, and the Burmese-Lolo languages on the east and south. Lexically it is perhaps the most valuable single language of the family, since it has retained a large proportion of Tibeto-Burman roots. Its nearest relatives are Nung and Burmese, with which it combines to form the Burmic division of Tibeto-Burman, but it also has numerous points of resemblance with Konyak and Barish, as well as with Mikir, Meithei, and Kuki-Chin. It is rather well preserved phonetically, with the exception of a tendency to unvoice initial sonants and to drop final velars (-k, -ng). Like the Kuki-Chin languages, and in contrast to most of the groups previously considered, it has a set of final [193] diphthongs: -ai, -oi, -au. Kachin morphology is especially rich, and the system of prefixes is the fullest to be found in the family. Curiously enough, the final dental morphology which we have seen in operation elsewhere does not appear in Kachin kinship terms, though it appears in other elements of the language, e.g. ša "to eat", šat "boiled rice, food"; pa-si "a comb, rake", ma-sit "to comb, rake; a rake"; ma-ni "to laugh" , ma-nit "to laugh at".

197 The standard Kachin dialect is described in the dictionaries by Hanson and Hertz, while Cushing's account is based on the slightly different Hkauri dialect (east of Bhamo). The dialect spoken in upper Assam, which forms the basis for Needham's work, differs considerably from the standard dialect, but these differences scarcely affect
601 the terms under consideration. A convenient, but incomplete, listof terms is found in Hanson's ethnography (1913), and three other lists, equally incomplete, are given by [illegible] (pp. xlvii-iii, lviii, and lxxiii). The list on p. [illegible], of the Lahkawng dialect spoken in the Northern Shan States, contains so many misprints and questionable forms that it cannot be utilised.

Kachin Consanguineal Terms

601

woi-ke	FFM
woi-ke-dwi	MFM
woi-k'ai	FM
woi-dwi	MM
nu	M
nu-tung	MoSi
nu-doi	MySi
moi	FSi
na	eSi,pC
nau	ySb,pC
jan	Si(ms)
ning	xCi(ws)
k'ri	FSiD(ms),SiCh(ms)
rat	MBD(oms)
nam	MBD(yms),BCh(ws)
ša	Ch,pN
šu	gCh
šu ma-či	ggCh
šu ma-ša	gggCh
ji-ke	FFF
ji-ke-dwi	MFF
ji-k'ai	FF
ji-dwi	MF
wa	F
wa-di	FoB
wa-doi	FyB
ts'a	MB,MBS(ws)
p'u	eB,pC
yung	B(ws)
k'au	xCo(ms)

Kachin Affinal Terms

601

ni	WM, MBW, WBW	ku	HF, FSiH, HoB, oSiH(ws)
moi	HM	ts'a	WF, BWB(ws)
nu-tung	FoBW	wa-di	MoSiH
nu-doi	FyBW	wa-doi	MySiH
ning	HSi, BW(ws)	k'au	WB, SiH(ms)
na	HoBW	p'u	WoSiH, oSiH(ws)
nau	WySiH, HyBW		
rat	WoSi, ySiH(ws), oBW(ms), HyB		
ša	HBCh, WSiCh		
nam	Dl, WySi, yBW(ms), WBCh	k'ri	Sl, HSiCh, FSiHSi
		da-ma	Sl(resp.)

Notes:

The Kachin terms are frequently prefixed with a- (generic), na- ("thy"), or ka- ("his"), and contractions are commonly employed, e.g. n-doi for nu-doi MySi, and di, doi, and tung, for wa-di, wa-doi, and nu-tung, respectively.

The primary gP terms are woi gM (cf. Gyarung ka-woi "old"), and ji gF (also "ancestral spirit"). The categorical terms ko, k'ai, and dwi cannot be interpreted with any degree of certainty; k'ai also appears in k'ai-dwi MM (resp.) and k'ai-tung "aunt" (= nu-tung), and can be compared with k'ai "to plant, as seed; to bear children or young". This distinction between the paternal and maternal lines in the grandparent terms is an outstanding Kachin feature.

601 Of the three categorical terms di, doi, and tung, only the last remains unidentified. For di, cf. Lepcha ti(-m) " great, large", a-bo tim-bo FoB, and for doi cf. Burmese t'we^3 used in exactly the same manner as the Kachin term (pt. 9). The element doi also appears in ša-doi "the last born child in a family". An especial categorical term, dim, is used in wa-dim "father's youngest brother" and nu-dim "mother's youngest sister", also in p'ung-dim "the last born child" (p'ung "a gathering"). One is tempted to compare Lepcha di(-m) "to be small" (e.g. a-kup di "little children"), but final -m is not a Kachin morphological element.

The cross PSb terms, viz. moi FSi and ts'a MB, are distinct from anything previously encountered, and indeed cannot be matched in the whole range of Tibeto-Burman terminologies. The standard TB roots are found only in the affinal terminology (infra), and our problem therefore is to identify the antecedents of these terms. Ts'a phonetically in every way conforms with Tib. ts'a Ne,GS, but in Kachin this term is used only for MB,MBS(ws). A possible line of development is suggested below in the discussion of collateral terms. Moi cannot definitely be identified with any term elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman.

The regular Sb terms, which are extended to include pC, have been developed from the widespread TB roots *na oSi, *p'u oB, and *nau ySb. The form nau ySb is original, as compared with Tib. nu ~ no; Tibetan and most of the languages to the north lack final -au and have substituted either -o or -u, but the diphthong is preserved in many of the Burma and Assam languages. Note Kachin p'u-wa (or p'ǔ-wa) "to be related", paralleling Tib. p'a-spun ("lineage") but with the elements reversed.

The cross terms yung and jan, which match Tib. ming-po and sring-mo, are new elements. According to Hanson, jan is generally applied to ySi; cf. the use of sring-mo for ySi in the Dänjongkä and Nyamskad dialects of Tibetan. It is also a respectful term for a grown or married woman, and is used in phrases such as ma-nang jan "a female companion" (ma-nang "companion"), n-ja jan "a sweet-heart" (n-ja "affectionate"), ma-du jan (also jan) "wife". Kachin, which regularly substitutes final -n for -r, has developed this term from a root *jar (Kuki *gar ~ *dzar); cf. ša-gan "star", Tib. skar-ma; pan "flower", Tib. 'bar-ba "to open, begin to bloom", Barish *bar "flower"; ngun "to growl, grumble", Tib. mgur-ba "to grunt". The term yung B(ws), which is found only in Hanson's dictionary, appears to be seldom used. The best outside comparison is furnished by the Barish root *yung (pt. 11).

Kachin ša Ch, from TB *za, shows the characteristic Kachin unvoicing of the initial; cf. Kachin ša "to eat", Tib. za-ba. A sex distinction is effected with the aid of the affixes ša-yi ~ sa-wi "female" (but yi ~ wi is the feminine suffix used only of animals) and ša-dang (perhaps

601 from dang "to be able"), viz. ša-yi ša D, ša-dang ša S. Kachin also employs the terms num-ša ma "girl", la-ša "boy", with the regular sex-affixes num (fem.) and la (masc.). The element ma stands for mang ~ ma Ch, used in a generic sense, with the additional meanings "servant, personal attendant; the inhabitants of a village, or members of a family; young and inexperienced people in general"; cf. Tib. dmangs "the common people, multitude", mang-po "much, many".

Šu gCh marks the first appearance of a root which is rather well represented in the languages of Burma and Assam. Šu ma-ši ggCh and šu ma-ša gggCh are of the alliterative couplet type so favored by the Kachin. For the former, however, cf. Chang (pt. 10) ši gCh, also Kachin si ~ a-si "fruit" and Dimasa (pt. 11) bu-su-t'ai gCh (ba-t'ai "fruit").

The most distinctive features of Kachin appear in the collateral and affinal terminologies. The new terms, most of which have cognates elsewhere are: ni WM,MBW,WBW, TB *ni ~ *ne FSi; ku HF,FSiH,HoB,oSiH(ws), TB *k'u ~ *ku MB; ning xCi(ws),Sil(ws), Chang (pt. 10) nyăng < *ning xCi, Sil(ws); k'au xCo(ms),Bl(ms); nam Dl,WySi,yBW(ms),WBCh,MBD(yms), BCh(ws), TB *nam ~ *snam Dl; k'ri Sl,HSiCh,FSiHSi,FSiD(ms), SiCh(ms), Burmese k'rwe-maʾ < *k'rwi-maʾ Dl (with feminine suffix -maʾ); rat oSil(ms),yBl(ws). Of the above terms only k'au and rat (cf. dă-rat "commoner") cannot be placed in relation to other TB terminologies.

601 The two sets of Pl terms are the natural result of the Kachin unilateral cross-cousin marriage (SiS-BD, i.e. a man marries his MBD, a woman her FSiS). To account for the terms ni and ku, however, which originally must have meant FSi and WB, respectively, we must assume that both types of cross-cousin marriage were permitted, so that ni was used for WM, HM as well as for FSi, MBH, and ku for WF, HF as well as for WB, FSiH. K'ri SiCh(ms), Sl, and nam BCh(ws), Dl also reflect the practice of SiS-BD marriage.

The collateral terms show serial equations of the type found in the so-called 'Omaha' system, viz. ts'a WB, MBS(ws), k'ri FSiD(ms), SiCh(ms). Thus ts'a and k'ri are the terms applied to the non-marriageable cross-cousins (ds), and both are defined by Hanson as "respectful appellations" used between these cross-cousins. The corresponding terms for cross-cousins (ss) are ning (ws) and k'au (ms), which through cross-cousin marriage are also applied to Sil(ws) and Bl(ms), respectively. The terms used for marriageable cross-cousins are uncertain, and those used by a woman have not been recorded at all (the key definition of ts'a as MBS(ws) is given only in Hertz, who does not cite the FSiS term). The terms cited by Webb (p. xlvii), viz. rat and nam, are simply the terms for WoSi and WySi, respectively. Note, however, ku HoB=HF, contrasting with nam WySi=Dl. The same contrast is carried through in the reciprocal term rat oSil(ms), yBl(ws).

As shown above, k'ri is properly the man's term for Sl, in view of the equation with SlCh(ms). Theoretically, therefore, da-ma Sl, the respectful term, should be the woman's term, and in fact da-ma is used primarily in the phrase da-ma ni (ni is plural suffix) "husband's family or clan" (also da-ma da-mi, probably alliterative). In this usage it is contrasted with ma-yu ni " wife's family or clan" (cf. yu "ordinary, common", yu ma-ya "the common people"). The last element of da-ma Sl can be compared with TB *mag ~ *smag, since Kachin drops the final velar stop; cf. myi "eye", Tib. mig; wa "pig", Tib. p'ag; la "hand", Tib. lag-pa.

The Kachin terminology outlined above presents several complex problems that can best be viewed in retrospect (pt. 17). The appearance of 'Omaha' features in the cousin terminology, and the apparent connection of one of the terms in question (ts'a) with a root denoting Mo,go elsewhere, are especially worthy of attention and shall be discussed below. The nature of the correlation with marriage regulations etc. can be seen, however, from the following account, based on the descriptions given by Macgregor, Scott, Carrapiett, Hanson, Gilhodes, and Wehrli (the last named is secondary, but includes a good bibliography).

The Kachin are divided into five large sections, viz. Mărip, Măran, N-hkum, Lăhpai, and Lăhtaw. These sections are (theoretically) exogamous only for the ruling families

601 of chieftains (du-wa; cf. Tib. t'u-bo "chief"), who as a rule do not intermarry with the families of commoners (dă-rat, dă-rat dă-roi; cf. rat Sbl). The commoners are organized into a large number of exogamous patrilineal lineages (see the list of 97 lineages in Scott, p. 402), many of which extend across the division lines. The sections are primarily geographical units, while the lineages are primarily exogamous marriage units.

Both the sections and the lineages are arranged in pairs, one member of each pair providing wives for the second, the second providing husbands for the first. The sections are paired as follows: Mărip ~ Măran, Măran ~ N-hkum, N-hkum ~ Lăhpai, Lăhpai ~ Lăhtaw, Lăhtaw ~ Mărip (the first of each pair supplies husbands for the second, i.e. is the da-ma ni of the second, while the second of each pair supplies wives for the first, i.e. is the ma-yu ni of the first). The above regulations, which hold only for the ruling families, have been relaxed, and it is now customary for an additional section to be added to the pair, e.g. a N-hkum man may marry a woman from the Lăhpai or Mărip sections. The lineages have not been described in detail, with the exception of Gilhodes's account of the village of Matan, which has the following three pairs of lineages: Chyamma ~ Latsin, Latsin ~ Kawlu, Kawlu ~ Chyamma. Even these smaller pairings cannot be

601 permanent, however, since Gilhodes notes (p. 364) that, when a first wife has no children, or dies young, or becomes crazy, a man may take a new wife from a different family, which is then added to the number of ma-yu ni.

The system described above is correlated with Sis-BD marriage, i.e. a Mărip man may marry the daughter of his mother's brother (a Măran) but not the daughter of his father's sister (a Lăhtaw). It can be seen that a Kachin society must have at least three marriage classes (lineages) in order to be effective. Marriage with MBD is apparently optional rather than compulsory at the present time (cf. the definite statement to this effect in Hertz, p. 148), but there are indications that regulations were formerly more severe. According to Hanson (p. 181), even marriage with a woman of the same surname, though irregular, occasionally occurs. Hanson gives the following account:

> All relationship is reckoned from the male side; the woman's identity is lost the moment she unites with her husband and his family. As a rule both a chief and a commoner aim to marry a first cousin, the daughter of the mother's brother. There is from a Kachin point of view no relationship between these children. The mother has come from a family with a different name, and her brothers cannot marry into the family she has become identified with, but must go in a different direction; thus there are no family relations (măyu dama) in the way, they are only incidentally (tăwu lăhta) connected. But it is not compulsory, and no customs are violated if a wife is sought somewhere else. (p. 181)

Scott gives much the same description:

> A man may not marry a woman of the same surname. It seems to be a general rule that a man should marry a first cousin on the female side, or more precisely the daughter of a mother's brother. He may not, however, marry his father's

> 601 sister's child, who is regarded as closely related. Blood connection is generally traced through the female......This rule seems much relaxed among the Southern Kachins, but it is said that farther north, if there is a marriageable first cousin whom a man does not want to marry, he can marry elsewhere only after paying a fine to the injured parents of the damsel. (p. 404)

Gilhodes (p. 363) notes that "il est bon, mais pas obligitaire, que son choix tombe sur l'une d'elles [MBD]". Macgregor seems to place the onus of responsibility on the maternal uncle's shoulders:

> A youth should marry his cousin, his mother's niece if possible. Should a cousin not be available, the maternal uncle should arrange for a girl of his class. Should he be unable to procure one, the uncle goes to another family and says, "If you give me a girl for my nephew, I will pay you back in kind when one of your family requires a bride" (p. 23)

The distinction made between k'ri FSiD and rat, nam MBD (probably ma), is directly correlated with the marriage regulations described above. The evidence for brother-sister marriage, in the affinal terminology, is contradicted, however, by Gilhodes' statement that two brothers may not marry two sisters, though both the levirate and sororate are in force. The age distinctions shown in the Sbl terms are likewise not supported by our information on Kachin practices. The seeming incongruencies here would perhaps be dispelled were more complete data on the Kachin available.

The Kachin are normally patrilocal, but a curious exception is pointed out by Gilhodes. When the wife's parents have no son, the son-in-law may live with them, yet he keeps his own name and takes with him some of his domestic mats. This practice is known as da-ma lung (Hanson), lit. "the Da-ma (Sl) ascends".

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Kadu

601 Kachin shows a marked tendency to semanticize some of its kinship terms as verbs. Thus, k'au "to be on friendly, intimate terms", šu "to take care of, nurse, tend, as young children", nau "to have younger brothers or sisters", ku "to show reverence, and thus homage and worship", perhaps also p'u "to be of value, worth". This is in keeping with the free formative spirit of the language, and resembles somewhat the phenomenon found in Chinese (cf. Section B).

It is not a little strange that Kachin, which has been heavily influenced by Shan (a Thai language), has made almost no use of Shan kinship terms. The Shan loan-words include luk-k'i Sl, apparently employed only in the phrase luk-k'i k'in (=ʻa-ma lung, supra), and sau "son (of a chief)", i.e. "a prince", nang "daughter (of a chief)", i.e. "a princess". Contrast the borrowings made by Lepcha from Tibetan, where the general linguistic situation is comparable with that which obtains here.

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197 [101] Kadu is a little known language spoken in the Katha district of Upper Burma, east of Manipur. Short word-lists have been gathered by Houghton, Grant Brown, and Taylor (in the LSI). Grant Brown established the connection of this group, who call themselves A-sak, with the Sak described by Hodgson, living some 200 miles away in Arakan. Grierson further showed a relationship with Andro and Sengmai, small servile tribes in the valley of Manipur, described by McCulloch

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in the middle of the 19th century but perhaps now extinct. 197
These languages, which are clearly of marginal type, constitute the so-called Lui group. Since Lui seems to stand closer to Kachin than to any other group, a discussion of the Kadu terms has been inserted at this point. Most of 601 the terms in the following table have been taken from the list in Webb (p. lxxi), but some of the forms have been corrected from other sources.

Kadu Consanguineal Terms

		ok-paing	FF
(a-)t'aung	FM,MM		
		ok-t'aung	MF
(a-)me	M	(a-)wa	F
(a-)si	MSi	ok-si	FB
na-ton	FSi	wan-si	MB
(a-)te	oSi	(a-)mu	oB
san	ySi	na-si	yB
sa	Ch		
yon	pxN		
sa-ton	gCh		

Kadu Affinal Terms

me-saung	Ml	po-saung	Fl
(a-)si	FBW	yauk-p'a	FSiH,WB,MSiH
na-ton	MBW	wan-si	MSiH
(a-)te	HSi,HBW,BW	ok-si	WB
naung-saung	WSi	pi-kwe	SiH
yon	WSbCh	lok-kwe	Si

Kadu

601 Notes:

The native elements are restricted to the following: me, wa, si, te, mu, sa, yon, na-, and -ton (-don). A-wa F agrees with Kachin, but Sak has a-ba, Andro has a-pa, and Sengmai has a-po. A-me (a-mǎ) has perhaps been influenced by Shan mǎ, yet Andro and Sengmai both have a-me, while Sak has a-mu (as in Kachin). A-te oSi can be compared with Dafla te-te oB, but a-mu oB seems to be new. Andro has pa-hu oB, a-na oSi, while Sengmai has a-pi oSb, a loan-word from Shan. A-na can thus be interpreted as the original term for oSi, and a-si as the original term for ySi (cf. Nung a-si gM). Both terms seem to denote merely "sibling" in combination, but these combined terms are puzzling (wan-si MB perhaps stands for *wa-si). Si appears also in i-si "woman". San ySi can be compared directly with Kachin jan, since Kadu parallels Kachin in the development -r > -n; cf. Kadu, Kachin wan "fire", Tibeto-Burman *war ~ *bar. Andro lu-cǎl, Sengmai cǎl ySi have perhaps been influenced by Meithei cal ySi, yet both languages have final -l for -r, as in wal "fire". Sa Ch is probably from Tibeto-Burman *za rather than *ts'a. The feminine form is sa-ek D, the latter element apparently identical with ek "wife". The root here may be *ik; cf. mek "eye", Tib. mig. The role of -ton (-don) in sa-ton gCh is not clear, and yon pxN seems to be isolated. Some categorical equations appear in the affinal terminology, but most of the key terms have been replaced by loan-words.

Kadu

601

Kadu is of little interest apart from the borrowing phenomena it exhibits. Shan has exercised the dominant influence on this language, but at least one Burmese term (yauk-p'a) has been taken over, and even Meithei (in Manipur) may have exerted some influence, as noted above in connection with the term cal ySi. Yauk-p'a stands for Burmese yok-p'a Bl. In taking over Shan terms, Kadu has sometimes prefixed the native prefix a-, has regularly nasalized diphthongal finals, and has often made new combinations. The following borrowings involve only phonetic shifts: a-pi oSb (Sengmai, with a- prefix); pi-kwe SiH (Shan pi-k'we); lok-kwe Bl (Shan luk-k'we; Kachin luk-k'i); me-saung Ml (Shan mɛ̌-sǎu); po-saung Fl (Shan pǒ-sǎu). Naung-saung WSi has been formed through analogy with me-saung and po-saung from Shan nong ySb. A-t'aung gH is a development from Shan t'ǎu "old", and ok-t'aung combines this element with Shan ok, used as an appellation for females. Ok is further combined with Shan nai gH in ok-naing FF, and with the native Kadu element si in ok-si FB. It is doubtful whether any of these latter terms would be recognized by a Shan, yet the elements are certainly of Shan origin. For this originality in treatment of loan-words, cf. the Newari remaking of Indic loan-words (pt. 4).

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8. Nung (with a note on Pyu)

197 [101] The Nung tribes inhabit the upper reaches of the Nmai Kha, the great eastern tributary of the Irrawaddy flowing just west of the Burma-China border. Secluded in this inaccessible region, they remained virtually unknown for many years, and were ordinarily referred to under their Chinese name, Lu-tzu (俅子). The recent work by Barnard throws much needed light on their language, and includes a few notes on their customs. The Nung appear to represent the last wave of Burmese peoples moving down the Irrawaddy valley. The language is not of true Burmese type, but is transitional between Kachin and Burmese, with the more basic elements approaching the latter rather than the former.

601 The kinship terminology is not fully given in Barnard, but many of the main features can be established. Barnard has recorded another Nung word-list, which appears in the LSI (No. 277a); this does not entirely agree with his general vocabulary. Other word-lists, of minor importance, appear in Desgodins (1872, 1873), Prince d'Orléans (Nos. 25, 27, 28, 30, on pp. 359-61), and in Peal. Some of the dialects reflected in these lists vary considerably from the standard Rǎwang dialect described by Barnard. The Melam dialect in Desgodins, 1872, is especially aberrant. The forms in the following table are from the Rǎwang dialect.

601

Nung Consanguineal Terms

(a-)si	gM	(a-)k'ang	gF
(a-)me	M	(a-)p'e	F
(a-)tsim	MSi	(a-)wang	FB
(a-)ni	FSi	(a-)k'ö	MB
		nam a-lat	oB
(a-)nam me	Si	p'eng a-rem	yB
(a-)nam	C		
pa-du me	BD	pa-du p'e	BS
(a-)sang me	SiD	(a-)sang p'e	SiS
sa-ma sel za-mi	D	nang-la sel	S
p'a-li	gCh		

Nung Affinal Terms

(a-)ni	Ml	(a-)k'ö	Fl
(a-)la me	Sil	(a-)la p'e	Bl
(a-)sang me	Dl	(a-)sang p'e	Sl

Notes:

Nung has four terms for parents' siblings, as in Tibetan, but only two grandparent terms. The terms a-si, a-k'ang, a-tsim, and a-wang are all new elements, unless a-wang be regarded as cognate with Tib. 'a-bang FSH, MSiH (cf. Nung w'arr "to burn", Tib. 'bar-ba; Nung t'a-wa "bamboo", Tib. spa ~ sba "cane"; Nung wa "pig", Tib. p'ag). Unlike Kachin, Nung has retained a-ni and a-k'ö as

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consanguineal terms for FSi and MB, respectively; for the development a-k'ö <a-k'u, cf. ta-gö "9", Tib. dgu; bö "snake", Tib. 'bu.

Nung a-si gM can be compared with Balti as-si (= a-si) ggM (in Austen). A-k'ang gF seems to be connected with ang-k'ang "maître" (Desgodins), ang-k'ang p'e "master", ang-k'ang me "mistress" (ang- is a Nung prefix of uncertain function), and compare k'ang "altar, idol".

The terms cited for siblings vary greatly, even in the two sources by Barnard. The term a-nam seems to stand simply for Sb, whence by extension "cousin" (Barnard). The Melam dialect has a-nam pe B, which corresponds to a-nam me Si (Peal a-nam). In the LSI Barnard gives a-lat oB (for nam a-lat), ti-na yB, and a-nang oSi. For ti-na yB, cf. na-go D, Ch (d'Orléans). P'ang a-ram yB is evidently a periphrastic term, from p'ang "below", also "second", and perhaps a-ram "each". The element lat is identical with Kachin lat "to be first-born", a-lat "the first-born".

The terminology for the collateral lines is uncertain. Pa-du and a-sang may both be men's terms. The former is from a root *tu found in Burmese and Kuki, while the latter seems to be identical with a-sang "person" (Kachin ma-šang). A-nam is defined simply as "cousin", hence we cannot be sure whether or not parallel and cross cousins are distinguished.

The element sel is found alone only as a diminutive suffix, while the prefixed form, ang-sel, has the meaning "baby". The semantic associations of the term are puzzling;

601 cf. sil sel "soldier" (sil "enemy"), p'a-la sel "spirit, soul" (p'a-la "demon"), a-sel ang-p'e "husband", a-sel ang-me "wife". The (original) unpalatalized form *kiel is still preserved dialectically, e.g. o-kiel Ch, pu-ma kiel ra (d'Orléans), lang kie ra S (Desgodins). Peal cites a-can S, from *cel; cf. san "10", from sel (standard).

Tibeto-Burman *za Ch is represented only by za-mi D (sa-mi in LSI), directly cognate with Burmese sa-mi[3].

Nung p'a-li < *ma-li gCh constitutes an important connecting link with Burmese. It is used also in the couplet p'a-li p'a-la "descendant", analogous to Kachin šu ma-ši, šu ma-ši šu ma-ša. Nung regularly has p'a- prefix for the ma- prefix of Kachin and the Kuki languages, hence the reconstruction *ma-li is reasonably secure.

	Kuki	Kachin	Nung
door, mouth	*ma-k'a	ma-k'a	p'ang-k'a
ghost, spirit	-	ma-la	p'a-la
to smell	*ma-nam	ma-nam	p'a-nam

Similar alternations between Nung and Kachin may in some instances involve an original ba- prefix, e.g. Nung p'ung-nga ~ pa-nga "5", Kachin ma-nga; Nung a-ba-li "4", Kachin ma-li.

The Kachin cognate appears to be ma-li "young man", also "father-in-law", as a couplet of ma-yu. Ma-yu ma-li, however, is defined as "wife's relatives", i.e. the same as-~~ma~~-yu ni. The unprefixed form appears in li-ma ~ a-li a-ma "attendant, servant", and in a-li "proper name applied to a chief's male children". The semantic connection between "child" and "servant" is also shown in a-ma ~ a-mang (see pt. 7). A likely etymological connection is that with li "seed"; cf. Miri am-li " seed for sowing" (am "rice"), also employed in the meaning "tribe, clan, breed, species, sort, kind; a relation, fellow tribesman, fellow clansman", Abor a-li " seed; descendants, posterity", and Lepcha li(-m) "to be ripe", a-li "seed, produce" (a-li žu t'o "to keep up race", from žu t'o "to cherish").

The affinal terminology shows categorical equations indicative of cross-cousin marriage, and the new term a-la. Barnard (Appendix, pp. 114-18) describes marriage with the mother's brother's daughter as the preferred type among the Nung, but no particulars are given.

The only clear examples of Kachin loan-words are ma-yö "wife's family" (Kachin ma-yu) and ša-wi sel ri " husband's family", from ša-wi "woman" (Kachin) and sel (supra) plus the plural suffix ri (the Kachin term da-ma is not used). The terms for H and W are merely the general words for "male" (nang-la) and "female" (sa-ma). A possible Tibetan loan-word is represented by pu-ma ra D (Desgodins), pu-ma ra "woman", pu-ma kiel ra D (d'Orléans), formed with the collective plural affix -ra; cf. pu-mo D, in modern Tibetan dialects.

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Pyu

197 [101] The Pyu were the pre-Burmese people of Burma, identified by Luce with the P'iao (剽) of the Chinese annals. The most important Pyu archaeological site is Śrī Kṣetra, some five miles southeast of Prome. The Pyu language has been partly deciphered by Blagden with the aid of the quadrilateral inscription in Pyu, Burmese, Mon, and Pali from the Myazedi pagoda at Pagan, dated 1113 by Luce. A series of funeral urn inscriptions have yielded a few more clues, but this material is less reliable than that from the Myazedi inscription. This note on Pyu has been inserted here because Nung seems to have greater affinity for Pyu than do any of the other Tibeto-Burman languages.

601 Only four Pyu kinship terms are known, and two of these may be Burmese loan-words, viz. sa^3 "son" (Burmese sa^3), ma-ya^3 "wife" (Burmese ma-ya^3). The two remaining terms appear in l. 24 of the Pyu inscription, which parallels l. 36 of the Burmese version:

Pyu: gi sa; da gi pli da gi sru:
Burmese: nga sa lańgong nga mliy langong ats'uy

Cf. note in Blagden, 1919, p. 42. The symbol : stands for visarga.

Pyu gi = Burmese nga "my". Pyu da = Burmese langong "and, or" (modern Burmese lań^3-kong^3).

Translation: "my son and (or) my grandson and (or) my relatives".

Pyu

601 Thus, Pyu sa: stands for Burmese sa^3 "son", Pyu pli stands for Burmese mliy (modern mre^3) "grandson", and Pyu sru: stands for Burmese ats'uy (modern a-ts'we) "relatives". Pyu agrees with Nung in having p- rather than m- prefix in pli SS (Nung p'a-li); cf. also Pyu pla "4", Nung a-ba-li, Kachin ma-li; Pyu pi-nga "5", Nung p'ung-nga ~ pa-nga, Kachin ma-nga. Pyu sru: "relative" is of even greater interest because of its seeming connection with Tib. sru-mo MSi, Kanauri, Chamba Lahuli ru Fl. It has been suggested (pt. 3) that *sru may originally have denoted MSb, thus accounting for the semantic developments represented by Tib. sru-mo MSi, Kanauri ru Fl < MB (identified through cross-cousin marriage). The Pyu term may have denoted "mother's relatives" in general.

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[1] [For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, ALI Southeast ASIA ALI -- Analyst]

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9. Burmese and the Lolo Languages

101 Burmese and the Lolo languages of southwestern China,
197 northern Tonkin and Siam, and the Shan States, constitute one of the largest single blocs in the Tibeto-Burman family (Burmish-Loloish). The center of dispersion for this group seems to have been southwestern China, whence have proceeded successive waves of migration to the south and east. The trail of the Burmese southward down the Irrawaddy valley is today marked by a series of tribes of Burmese stock, viz. Maru, Lashi, Atsi, Achang, Hpön. The Lolo movements southward and eastward have continued down to the present time, even in the face of strongly entrenched Thai populations. The process has been one of infiltration rather than of displacement, since these immigrant Lolo groups almost invariably constitute a depressed economic class under the control of their Chinese or Thai neighbors.

197 Burmese is a literary language of some antiquity (its inscriptions extend back to the 11th century), and hence is of great value in comparative Tibeto-Burman studies. The written forms, especially those in the inscriptions, contain many archaic features not found in Tibetan, but the modern spoken language has undergone extensive phonetic modification. The non-standard dialects, viz. Arakanese, Taungyo, Intha, Danu, and Taveyan, in general tend to retain older forms. Hpön is transitional to the Maru group (supra), while the latter is again transitional to the Lolo languages. The

latter may conveniently be divided into a Southern Lolo division (Phunoi, Akha, Lahu, Woni, Black and White Lolo) and a Northern Lolo division (Lisu, Ahi, Nyi, Lolopho). The so-called "Independent Lolo" tribes of western Szuchuan are linguistically akin to the latter, to judge from what little we know of their speech. The Moso (Nakhi) language of western Yunnan, which is likewise only imperfectly known, must be reckoned an independent unit of Burmish-Loloish.

Our discussion falls naturally under the four headings indicated above, viz. Burmese and its dialects, the Maru group, Southern Lolo, and Northern Lolo. Our sources are in general of mediocre quality, but for Burmese itself we are in a somewhat better position. The standard dictionary by Judson (1911 edition) gives a large number of carefully defined terms, and these can be checked against the convenient tables in Brown (pp. 119-20). Variant spellings and forms are given in other works, e.g. that of Bennett, but Judson's dictionary is the locus classicus. The forms cited below are those of the written language, in the orthography developed by the writer after a detailed study of the Burmese group (Judson does not transliterate the originals in Burmese script, and Brown gives only the modern spoken forms, which would be misleading in the present study). The principal sources for the dialects of Burmese are Taylor, the LSI (by Taylor), Scott, Houghton, Konow, and Tin.

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Burmese Consanguineal Terms

(a-)p'ĭ-maʾ	gggM	(a-)p'iʾ	gggF
(a-)p'o^3-maʾ	ggM	(a-)p'e^3	ggF
(a-)p'wa^3	gM	(a-)p'ui^3	gF
(a-)miʾ (a-)me	M	(a-)p'aʾ (a-)p'eʾ	F
mi-kri^3	MoSi, FoBW	p'ă-kri^3	FoB, MoSiH
mĭ-t'we^3	MySi, FyBW	p'ă-t'we^3	FyB, MySiH
		u^3-ri^3	MoB, FoSiH
(a-)ri^3	FSi, MBW	u^3-mang^3	MyB, FySiH
ats-maʾ	oSi	ats-kui	oB
ńi-ma	ySi(ws)	ńi	yB(ms)
hnats-maʾ	ySi(ms)	(a-)mong	yB(ws)
sa-mi^3	D, pNi	sa^3	S, pNe
tu-maʾ	xNi	tu	xNe

mre^3 gCh

mrats ggCh

Burmese Affinal Terms

yok-k'a-maʾ Pl

mă-ya^3	W	lang	H
yok-maʾ	Sil(ws)	yok-p'aʾ	Bl(ms)
mă-ri^3	oSil(ms)	k'ai^3-mi	oBl(ws)
k'ai-maʾ	ySil(ms)	mat	yBl(ws)
k'rwe^3-maʾ	Dl	sa-mak	Sl

Notes:

The final glottalised vowels appear in combination as ordinary short vowels, as in a-p'iʼ gggF but a-p'ǐ-maʼ gggM, a-maʼ "female" but mǎ-ya^3 W. The superscript 3 symbol (a^3) stands for the heavily stressed falling tone of Burmese, which plays an important role in that language. Surd phonemes in unstressed medial position in Burmese are regularly transformed into sonants, and many of the terms in the above table have been affected in this way through the initial prefixed a-, the effect persisting even when the prefix is dropped. Thus, p'ǎ-kri^3 FoB is now pronounced bǎ-gyi^3 ~ bǎ-dyi^3. This sonantization is even reflected in the written forms, in doublets such as a-p'iʼ ~ a-b'iʼ gggF, a-p'aʼ ~ a-b'aʼ F. In the above table and in the discussion that follows only the surd initial forms are cited.

The parent and grandparent terms show the typically Burmese development of multiple variant forms, as in re^3-re^3 ~ ri-ri "obscurely", lya^3 "thin" ~ lyaʼ "thin, flimsy", k'a^3 "bitter" ~ k'aʼ-k'aʼ "bitterish", lu "man" ~ luʼ id. (contemptuous). Both a-p'iʼ gggF and a-p'e^3 ggF have been developed from the root represented by Tib. 'a-p'yi gM. Burmese -e regularly stands for Tib. -i (TB -i) and Burmese -i regularly stands for Tib. -e (TB -ei); cf. Burmese k'ye^3 "to borrow", Tib. skyi-ba; Burmese ne "sun", Tib. nyi-ma; Burmese k'we^3 "dog", Tib. k'yi; and Burmese ni^3 "near", Tib. nye-ba; mi^3 "fire", Tib. me. Burmese a-p'e^3 is best regarded as the direct cognate of Tib.

601 'a-p'yi (the medial y is secondary), and a-p'i' gggF as a secondary form. Note that above gM there are only the corresponding feminine terms (p'ĭ-mi' is given as an alternative for a-p'ĭ-ma'). A-p'wa^3 gM is connected with p'wa^3 "to bear (children)", a root for which no comparisons have been found. A-p'ui gF is from TB *p'u, Burmese final -ui being the normal equivalent of final -u elsewhere; cf. Burmese ngui "to weep", Tib. ngu-ba; Burmese k'rui^3 "dove", Kachin k'ru; Burmese pui^3 "insect", Tib. 'bu; Burmese kui^3 "9", Tib. dgu, Kachin ja-k'u. For the semantic connection with Tib. p'u-bo, Kachin p'u oB, cf. Tib. 'a-bo ∼ 'a-po, Tib. 'a-ta and Tsangla a-ta, which show a similar equivalence. The latter root appears in the Lolo languages in regular usage, but in Burmese is represented only by t'a^3-t'a^3 F, said to be used by "male members of the royal family in Mandalay" (see Judson, note 7); cf. Arakanese a-da gM, a-dwa "old woman" (Houghton). Burmese may have a cognate to Nung a-k'ang gF in the element k'ang, found only in combination, viz. k'ang-pwan^3 "spouse", k'ang-b'ya "sir madam" (polite), p'ă-k'ang F, mĭ-k'ang M.

In addition to a-mi' and a-me M, Burmese has a-ma' "female, feminine suffix", which corresponds to a-p'a' "father, masculine suffix for birds", and ma' Si. A fourth term is a-mai M, which in Tavoyan (Mergui) is used to denote oSi (ata-ma'); mai alone is prefixed to names of women to indicate seniority or respect (cf. a-pai "madam", an address used by husband to wife). The regular term for M, however, is a-miʼ, from the Tibeto-Burman root *me "woman". It appears in combinations such as mǐ-p'aʼ ~ p'ǎ-miʼ "parents", mǐ-sa^3 "mother and son", and in min^3-maʼ "woman" (nasalized by the following m). In isolated form (miʼ), it is used for "daughter", and is prefixed to names of girls and young women to indicate superiority on the part of the speaker (contrast mai). A variant of this term is found in sa-mi^3 D, also written sam-mi^3, the falling tone perhaps having been transferred from sa^3 S.

The Kachin and Kadu term wa F is represented in Burmese by wa-kri^3 and wa-kri^3-maʼ, terms of address (not polite) applied to elderly men and women, respectively (Arakanese dialect). Cf. also wǎ-ri^3 MB, a variant of u^3-ri^3.

The terms for MSi and FB are of the periphrastic type that has been so often encountered in this review. mǐ-kri^3 and p'ǎ-kri^3 are formed with kri^3 "big" (cf. Lepcha tă-gri "male", Tib. bgre-ba "to grow", and perhaps Kachin k'ri Sl). Mǐ-t'we^3 and p'ǎ-t'we^3 are combined with the element t'we^3 " to be the youngest", found also in sa^3-t'we^3 "youngest son". These combined terms exactly parallel Kachin nu-doi, wa-doi, and ša-doi, and the roots themselves are probably cognate; cf. Burmese krwe "shellfish", Kachin k'oi; Burmese krwe^3 "a debt", Kachin k'oi "to borrow or lend"; Burmese krwe^3 "to scream", Kachin ma-groi; Burmese bwe "cowlick", Kachin boi; Burmese twe^3 ~ t'we^3 "scarlet" (intensive), Kachin t'oi "to

601 light, shine". mɣ-t'we^3 and p'ɣ-t'we^3 are commonly used in the meanings "step-mother" and "step-father", respectively, thus perhaps producing some of the variations noted below.

The terms for MB and FSi are extremely puzzling, partly because of the difficulty in the linguistic analysis per se. The element ri^3 is conceivably a doublet form of kri^3 "big"; cf. krwap-krwap ~ rwap-rwap ~ krwap-rwap ~ rwap-krwap "violently", krwa^3-rwa^3 "vain, boastful", k'ram-ram "to surround with a fence", k'rum-rum "to cover", but the relationship is doubtful at best. The element u^3 appears to be identical with u^3 "head, beginning" (cf. Classical Tib. dbu, Central Tib. u, id.). As an isolated term it is prefixed to names of men considerably older than the speaker. The element mang^3 is comparable with mang^3 "ruler, governor, official".

The sibling terms present further difficulties of analysis. The terms tabulated above show the arrangement in Brown, with sex of speaker distinguished only for the ySb terms. Ats-ma' is used by speakers of both sexes, as definitely stated by Judson, but Judson cites ats-kui as a man's term. Judson further gives mong-ngai yB(ws) (ngai "small") and mong-kri^3 oB(ws) (kri^3 "big"), and defines mong simply as B(ws), but notes its use as an "appellative for young men, rather respectful". It seems likely, therefore, that ats-kui originally paralleled ats-ma' as a term used by speakers of both sexes, but has come to be regarded as a man's term through the development of mong-kri^3, a woman's term.

601 It is tempting to identify the elements ats- and hnats- (pronounced ă-, hnă- in modern speech) with ats "unit, one", hnats "two". Burmese final -ats and -ań are substitutes for -ik, -ing, which are lacking in this language; cf. Burmese ts'ats "joint", Tib. ts'igs; Burmese sats "small animal of the tiger genus", Tib. gzig "leopard"; Burmese hmyats "bamboo sprouts", Tib. smyig-ma; and Burmese tsań^3 "to bind", Tib. 'c'ing-ba; Burmese mań "name", Tib. ming; Burmese hrań "long", Tib. ring-ba "long", sring-ba "to extend". Burmese ats- in ats-kui, ats-ma' can thus readily be identified with Mikir ik oB(ms), yB(ws); the early pronunciation (*ik-kui) appears to have been partly retained in Taungyo, which has ik-kur oB.

The element kui does not appear alone, though it is prefixed to names of "persons older or of higher rank than the speaker, or politely of his equals" (Brown, p. 104). It is thus contrasted with mong, prefixed to names of "persons younger than the speaker or inferior to him in status, also frequently to equals" (ibid.), and tends to parallel u^3, prefixed to names of "old men and men of much higher rank than the speaker" (ibid.). We must, indeed, identify this term as the Burmese representative of Tibeto-Burman *k'u MB; the final -ui <-u shift is regular (supra) and the unaspirated initial is paralleled by Kachin ku ~ gu. Some confirmation of this view is offered by the combined term kui-hrang MB (nephew's term).

601 An additional Sb term, apparently obsolescent, is represented by nong oB (cited in Tin, 1915), nong-to oB (royal or divine), used also in the combined term ńi-nong "older and younger brothers". The latter usage suggests that it is properly a man's term. The term is used dialectically in Tavoyan and Intha in the form *nong-kri^{3} oB (Tavoyan a-nong gui, Intha nong kuw). Tavoyan further has a-ngɛ < a-ngai yB (ngai "small"), while Intha has (nga-)mong yB. Taungyo uses mong for Si rather than B, in the terms lǎ-mo gwi < *lǎ-mong-kri^{3} oSi and la-mong nga < *la-mong-ngai ySi; lǎ- is probably a substitute for lu "man (homo)"; cf. Taungyo, Danu lu pǎ, Tavoyan lu θa ~ lu θa-ngɛ Ch.

Burmese ńi yB(ms), ńi-ma' ySi(ws) closely parallel Tib. nu, nu-mo, but are cognate rather with Lepcha nyi, as in nyi-t'i ggCh. They can further be compared with ńi "to be even, equal; to be united, clannish".

The Si terms show some dialectical variation. Tavoyan and Intha make use of the term a-mai M (supra), viz. Tavoyan a-mɛ Si, a-mɛ gui oSi, a-mɛ θa ySi, Intha mǎ kuw oSi. Oddly enough, Judson notes that the Mon, who live in the Tavoyan area, use ats-ma' oSi for "mother". Cf. also Burmese ma' Si (a-ma' "female"), Arakanese ma-ma oSi.

Both Tib. ming-po B(ws) and sring-mo Si(ms) may have cognates in Burmese, though in well disguised form. The former may lie behind Burmese k'ǎ-mań^{3} < *k'ǎ-ming "father"

601 (honorific), k'ă-man^{13}-to "God", k'ă-man^{13}-luˀ-lang "a young unmarried man" (poetic) (for k'ă-, vide infra). The latter may explain the puzzling Burmese term (a-)hrang "lord, master", hrang-maˀ "Miss" (used by women to female members of royal family and to wives of officials, also among ordinary people towards wives or other women). Burmese hrang indicates an original *srang rather than *sring, yet a perfect phonetic parallel is furnished by Burmese hrang "to live", Himalayish *sring. We have further support for this derivation in the inscriptions, where both srwang and srwing occur (Seidenstücker). The term is still written a-hsyang when it has reference to a monarch.

We have very little data on the Burmese terminology for collateral kin (entirely neglected by Brown). The terms cited in Judson are formed with the element to "to be related" (used also in terms for "aunt", supra), viz. ńi-ata-mă-to, hnata-mă-to "female cousin", ńi-ata-kui-to "male cousin", and mong-to "cousin". It can be inferred that the distinctions in the corresponding sibling terms are also in effect here, e.g. ńi-ata-mă-to "older or younger female cousin"(ws), hnata-maˀ "younger female cousin"(ms). In view of the N terms (infra) one would expect to find a distinction made between parallel and cross cousins, but the evidence for this is limited to the single term ma-mi^{3}-mrok-ma^{3} "cousin of a different sex, and having a parent of a different sex from the parent of the other" (fully defined only in Judson's English-Burmese Dict.). The first part of this combined term is sa-mi^3 D, while the second part can be identified with myok-sa^3 (or myok-sa^3-to) "spouse" (medial r and y are interchangeable in most instances). The element mrok may be honorific; cf. mrok "to be raised, elevated" (sa^3= S).

Burmese sa^3 S is from Tibeto-Burman *za, the unvoicing of the initial being a regular Burmese phenomenon. The sonant initials are preserved in the Lolo languages discussed below; cf. Tib. za-ba "to eat", Magari jya, Burmese tsa^3, but Lisu, Nyi dza, Ahi, Lolopho dzo; Magari za "son", Burmese sa^3, but Lisu za ~ ra, Nyi za, Ahi, Lolopho zo (Ahi, Lolopho final -o < -a). The feminine is formed with -mi^3 rather than -ma^3 (mi^3 is used for "D" as well as for "M"), thus paralleling Nung za-mi, Aka sa-mi. The term for xN, tu ~ tu-ma^3, is cognate with Nung pa-du, and may further be connected with tu "to be like, similar" . The combined term is tu-sa^3 "nephews and sons collectively, posterity". Burmese pyui < *pru "young, in the prime of life", a-pyui "young unmarried woman", offers a comparison for Tib. p'rug-gu ~ p'ru-gu "child, young one".

The archaic form of mre^3 gCh is mliy, and the term is thus directly related to Nung p'a-li, Pyu pli, and Kachin ma-li (see the discussion in pt. 8). As suggested above, the basic meaning of the root seems to be "seed". Similarly, mrats ggCh is probably connected with a-mrats "root", yet a

601 comparison can also be made with Sho (Southern ~~Kuki~~) a-mlok "small, young" (mrats <*mrik or *mlik). The complete terminology for the first seven generations, ascending and descending, is given below:

Ascending	Descending
(a-)p'aˀ "father"	sa^3 "son"
(a-)p'ui^3 "g. father"	mre^3 "g. son" ["seed"]
(a-)p'e^3 "g.g. father"	mrats "g.g. son" ["root"]
(a-)p'iˀ "g.g.g. father"	ti "g.g.g. son"
(a-)p'ang "g.g.g.g. father" ["plant"]	krwat "g.g.g.g. son"
(a-)hnók "g.g.g.g.g. father" ["sprout"]	ta'at "g.g.g.g.g. son"
(a-)tseˀ "g.g.g.g.g.g. father" ["seed"]	ta'ak "g.g.g.g.g.g. son"

A-tseˀ "seed", a-hnók "germ, sprout from a seed", a-pang "plant, tree" (note the development of aspiration in the kinship term). Thus, the ggggF is the "plant" developed from the "sprout" (gggggF), in turn developed from the "seed" (ggggggF), just as the ggS is the "root" developed from the "seed" (gS). This botanically oriented terminology is comparable with that found in Lepcha (pt. 5), and can be traced also in myui^3 "seed, seed grain", a-myui^3 "race, kind, class", Kachin myu ~ a-myu "race, tribe; relative, kinsman". Burmese ti gggS and krwat ggggS are not so easily identified, though the former is perhaps cognate with Lepcha t'i "to be related". The two remaining terms, however, show interesting connections with Tibetan. For ts'at gggggS, cf. Tib. c'ad-pa " begotten, born, descended from", and for ts'ak ggggggS (also "to connect, join, unite by the ends or in continuation"), cf. Tib. c'ags-pa "to be begotten, produced".

The above terms for members of the descending generations are properly neuter rather than masculine (unlike sa^3, which has come to have the specific meaning "son"). A distinction can be drawn, however, between mre^3-yok-kya^3 gS (yok-kya^3 "male") and mre^3-min^3-ma' gD (min^3-ma' "female").

The affinal terminology of Burmese is something of an olla podrida of diverse elements. Mǎ-ya^3 "wife", apparently identical with Rai (Kiranti) me-ya, Digaro mi-ya, includes an element -ya^3 which appears elsewhere only in yok-ya^3 (also written yok-kya^3) "male (human)"; it is probably cognate with Tib. ya "one of two things that belong together as being of one kind, or forming a pair", West Tibetan ya-do "associate, companion". If this derivation is correct, it suggests that yok-kya^3 originally meant "husband" rather than "male". The actual term for "husband", viz. lang, is connected with the Tibeto-Burman root *lang "male" (cf. Miju).

Sa-mak Sl is a combined term, in which the Tibeto-Burman root *mag ~ *smag is combined with sa^3 "son". K'rwe^3-ma' < *k'rwi-ma' Dl presupposes a term *k'rwi Sl, coinciding with Kachin k'ri Sl. The etymological affinities of this root cannot be traced. Tibeto-Burman *snam Dl is represented by mong-hnam, in the modern language used for "husband" but in

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the earlier language used for "husband and wife" (in Tin, 1915, where it is equated with lang-mă-ya^3). Since mong is used for yB(ws), it is possible that hnam was originally the complementary term for ySi(ms); cf. Gyarung snom < *snam Si.

The Sbl terms fall into two classes, viz. those for Sbl(ss) and those for Sbl(ds). Age distinctions appear in the latter class, both in the men's and women's terms. K'ai^3-ui oBl(ws) and k'ai-ma' ySil(ms) suggest an original reciprocal term *k'ai ~ k'ai^3 to cover this relationship. This root is isolated in Burmese, but can be connected with Maru yauk-kai (for *yauk-k'ai) "male (human)", where yauk is cognate with Burmese yok (vide infra). The element -ui is identical with ui "old", and is found also in p'ui^3-mang^3-ui "familiar term of compellation, used by young men to elderly men". The term mă-ri^3 oSil(ms) shows a partial equation of WoSi with FSi, while mat yBl(ws), connected with mat ~ a-mat "nobleman", has a generic resemblance with u^3-mang^3 MyB, connected with mang^3 "ruler, governor, official". A-mat is of some purely linguistic interest, since it has been derived from Indic sources (Sk. amātya), yet it has been reinterpreted as a native term with a- prefix. This is the only Burmese kinship term of foreign origin, insofar as the writer is aware; note that it was borrowed as a title, not as a kinship term.

The most prominent elements of the affinal terminology are yok and k'ă, which appear in a number of combined terms. Yok is the numerary adjunct for mankind or superior beings, 601 while k'ă is related to a similar prefixed element k'a- found in Southern Lolo (infra). The Sbl(ms) terms alternate with longer forms combined with sa-mi^3 D, viz. sa-mi^3-yok-maʼ Sil(ws) and sa-mi^3-yok-p'aʼ Bl(ms). If yok-p'aʼ and yok-maʼ originally meant Fl and Ml, respectively, their present meanings might have been developed through teknonymy, since, under cross-cousin marriage, a man's daughter's father-in-law becomes his own brother-in-law (WB). The use of a single term (yok-k'ă-maʼ) for both Fl and Ml can hardly be regarded as an original trait, even though a secondary distinction can be made (yok-k'ă-maʼ-yok-p'aʼ Fl, yok-k'a-măʼ-min^3-maʼ Ml). The element k'ă also appears in k'ă-miʼ "M of Dl or Sl", and in k'ă-mak "F of Dl or Sl", used only in combination with each other.

The only outside comparison that can be suggested for yok is that with Tib. g-yog "servant". Cf. Gyarung zabs-pye "Dl, bride", Tib. žabs-p'yi "servant", and Miri pag-bo "male slave or servant", Tib. bag-po "bridegroom".

Burmese a-ts'we "relative", which appears as early as the Myazedi inscription (ats'uy), is linguistically isolated. It is used in several obsolete terms cited by Tin (1915), viz. ts'we-nán^3 "a beloved person", ts'we-mai-nán^3 "a beloved man", ts'we-mong-nán^3 "a beloved man", and ts'we-sán "wife, husband and wife".

Burmese a-rui^3, like the cognate Tib. rus-[illegible], is used in the meaning "lineage" as well as "bone". Kachin has a-ru hereditary stock", apparently identical with a-ru "root", while n-rut, the direct cognate of Tib. rus-pa, is used only in the literal meaning "bone".

Our information on Burmese marriage regulations and practices is of the cursory sort found in general works like those of Sangermano (the classical early account), Forbes, and Shway Yoe, supplemented by occasional bits from elsewhere. The material that we do have is of little interest. Surnames are not used, and no clan organization has been reported. Marriages are allowed with close blood kin on either side, the only forbidden degrees of relationship (for a man) being those of M, D, Si, A, gM, and gD (listed by Yoe). On the other hand, no especial preference for cousin marriage has been noted.

One outstanding feature of Burmese culture, however, is the custom of matrilocal residence, described as early as ca. 1800 (by Sangermano). The period of matrilocal residence lasts for two or three years (Yoe), or three years (Sangermano), during which time the son-in-law serves his father-in-law (no details are given). If the wife is the only daughter of her parents, the husband may remain with her parents and inherit their property; cf. the Kachin practice called da-ma lung ("the son-in-law ascends"). Furnivall points out that marriage between residents of the same village is the rule, but that there is a "large proportion" of marriages between residents of different villages, and that it is

601 them the "almost if not quite invariable custom" for the man to settle in his wife's village (p. 24).

Cross-cousin marriage has been reported only for the Arakanese, who speak one of the most archaic of Burmese dialects. Risley, who describes them under the name "Magh", reports the existence of three endogamous groups, each divided into a number of septs. The following is said of their marriage regulations:

> They observe the simple rule that a man may not marry a woman of his own sept, supplemented by a table of prohibited degrees, which does not differ materially from that arrived at by the standard formula already referred to [the Hindu formula]. In applying these prohibitions, however, there seems to be some laxity when descent is traced through females, for I am informed that a man may marry the daughters of his father's sister and of his mother's brother [illegible] connexion which would not ordinarily be allowed.

Mills specifies that these endogamous clans are patrilineal, and that a single village, unless big, is usually inhabited by members of one clan only. Mills does not record cross-cousin marriage, and his discussion in this respect is not at all clear:

> A man may marry a woman of his own clan who is not a near blood relation. Marriage outside the clan used to be strictly forbidden and I was told that members of different clans would not even eat together in the old days. Now, however, these restrictions have been greatly relaxed and marriage outside the clan is by no means uncommon. (p. 119)

It is difficult to know how to interpret these Arakanese features, which are not known to occur elsewhere within the Burmese culture proper. Endogamy in particular is out of place in this area, and the commensal restrictions open up the possibility of influence from the Hindu caste system (the Arakanese have been heavily Indianized).

601 The Chaungtha, described in Lewin (pp. 36-62) under the variant name 'Khyoungtha', are of Arakanese stock. To judge from the badly recorded list in Webb, p. lxvii, Chaungtha equates MB with WF,HF in the term a-k'an (Burmese k'ang), and FSi with WM,HM in the term a-ri (Burmese a-ri^3), as well as FSiCh,MBCh with Bl(ms) in the term yauk-pa (Burmese yok-p'a^7). These categorical equations, which are so distinct from anything in Burmese proper, lend strong support to the evidence for cross-cousin marriage cited above. The term for FBCh and MSiCh, i.e. pC, is nyi (Burmese nyi yB,ms), hence we can be sure that Chaungtha draws a distinction between the parallel and cross collateral lines. Especially noteworthy is the use of a-k'an <*a-k'ang (cf. lan < *lang H) for MB in view of Nung a-k'ang gF, and Kuki (e.g. Lushei) pu gF,MB. Chaungtha also has a distinct term for MSi, viz. a-ywai (Arakanese a-ywe), as well as for oSi, viz. a-mai (Arakanese ma-ma, Burmese ma^7). In general, however, Chaungtha shows remarkably few deviations from the standard Burmese pattern, hence the categorical equations outlined above are all the more significant.

The Arakanese and Chaungtha material together tends to link Burmese with the groups previously studied. Some of the features present here appear elsewhere in Burmish-Loloish, as is shown in the following discussion.

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The linguistic bridge between Burmese and the Lolo languages is supplied by the Maru group of languages, spoken in the upper Irrawaddy valley. The Maru proper are found in the Myitkyina and Bhamo districts of Upper Burma, their true home being the valley and watershed of the Nmai Kha, or eastern tributary of the Irrawaddy (south of the Nung), while the closely affiliated Lashi and Atsi are found scattered all along the Burma-China frontier. Hpön is transitional between Burmese and Maru, to judge from what little we know of its two dialects (Megyaw and Samong), spoken by nearly extinct groups living in the defile of the Irrawaddy between Bhamo and Myitkyina. A few kinship terms are cited in our Hpön sources (Scott, Davies, LSI). Noteworthy are Megyaw mo-mo oB, Samong a-mo-ku; Megyaw pi-pi oSi, Samong a-pi-ku; Megyaw a-sa Ch, mi-sa D, i-sa ySb; and Megyaw a-yi ~ a-ye M (Samong a-mi).

Maru, Lashi, and Atsi are closely related languages or perhaps dialects of a single language. All three have been heavily influenced by Kachin, with whom they are often mistakenly grouped (as in Hanson). In Atsi this influence has been felt much more strongly, and hence the Atsi terminology is best examined apart from the Maru-Lashi system. Our material on the Maru group, which includes two dictionaries of Maru (Clerk, Abbey), some word-lists in the works of Scott and Davies, and tables of terms in the census report

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Maru

197 by Webb, is relatively complete, but the recording is so poor that linguistic analysis is difficult (the tables in Webb

601 fairly bristle with misprints and other mistakes). The Maru terms are tabulated below, while local differences are treated in the notes.

Maru Consanguineal Terms

(a-)p'yit gM		(a-)p'uk gF
(a-)mi M		(a-)p'o F
mo MoSi,FoBW		p'a-mo FoB,MoSiH
t'ang MySi		p'a-lot FyB,MySiH
nu FSi		nyi MB
pai oSi,pC		wang oB,pC
	nam ySb,pC	naung yB(ws)
uk FSiD(ms)		k'au FSiS,MBC
nyi MBD(ms)		
	zo Ch	
	tsu xS	
	myit gCh	

Maru Affinal Terms

nu WM,HM		nyi WF
uk HBW		vung HF,FSiH
pai WoSi,oBW(ws),HoBW		maung oSiH(ws),HyB,WoSiH
	nam ySbl	
yah-mo HoSi		k'au DH(ms)
tsu-mo DH		uk SW

Maru

601 Notes:

The terms for parents and grandparents agree with those in Burmese, except for a-p'yit gM (Tib. ˀa-p'yi). The Burmese cognate here is a-p'e^3(-maˀ) ggM; cf. Maru k'it ~ cit "foot" Burmese k're; Maru pyit "to give", Burmese pe^3; Maru rit "water", Burmese re (Maru -it, also written -ik, probably for -iˀ). This shift is also operative in Maru myit gCh, Burmese mre^3. Similarly, Maru -uk (also -ok) stands for Burmese -ui (TB -u), while Lashi has -au(-ou) ~ -auk; cf. Maru p'uk ~ p'ok gF, Lashi p'au, Burmese a-p'ui^3; Maru uk, Lashi ou, Burmese ui^3 "chatty"; Maru k'uk, Lashi k'au, Burmese k'ui^3 "to steal"; Maru nguk ~ ngok, Lashi ngau, Burmese ngui "to weep"; Maru coung-suk, Lashi caung-sauk, Burmese k'yong^3-ts'ui^3 "to cough". A third Maru-Lashi feature is the replacement of final -a by -o (usually written -ɔ); cf. kyo "to hear", Burmese kra^3; tso "to eat", Burmese tsa^3; no "ill", Burmese na; pyo "bee", Burmese pya^3. This correspondence is noted in p'o F, Burmese p'aˀ; so ~ tso (Lashi zo) S, Burmese sa^3. Finally, Maru -au, Lashi -u correspond to Burmese -u; cf. Maru tau, Lashi tu, Burmese tu xMe; Maru au, Lashi u, Burmese u "intestines"; Maru kau, Lashi ku, Burmese ku^3 " to cross"; Maru tau, Lashi tu, Burmese tu^3 "to dig".

The parents' siblings' terms are modelled after those of Burmese, but different elements are involved. Lashi has mye-mo MoSi, mye-t'ang MySi (cf. meye "women"), and p'a-t'ang

601 yM. For Maru t'ong (also t'o), Lashi t'ang, cf. Maru nong ~ no "thou", Lashi nang, Burmese nang³; Maru myong ~ myo "horse", Lashi myang, Burmese mrang³ (Lashi is more archaic in its retention of medial vowels in general). The element mo < *ma can be identified with Burmese a-ma' "female", ma' Si, though here it seems to represent merely an extension of the Tibeto-Burman term for M. The element let ~ le is cognate with Burmese lat "to be middling", a-lat "middle (as of three sons)", Kachin lat "to be first-born", a-lat "the first-born", Nung nam a-lat oB; on the phonetic side, cf. Maru ts'e "deer", Burmese ts'at; Maru se "to kill", Burmese sat; Maru wet ~ we "to wear", Burmese wat. The categorical equations that appear in these terms are similar to those found in Burmese; the apparent lacuna in t'ong MySi is filled by a-let FyBW, corresponding to p'a-let FyB (Clerk cites let MySi).

Maru na FSi,WM and nyi (also ngi, ni) MB,WF appear to present the unusual circumstance of a language's retaining a term in one sense and borrowing it in altered form in another sense. Maru na indicates an original Burmese *ne, as in na "to remain", Burmese ne; na "day" (Davies), Burmese ne', and can thus be directly compared with Kachin ni WM, Tibeto-Burman ne ~ ni FSi. Lashi ning-mo FoSi, ning-t'ang FySi seem to include the same term *ni, with secondary nasalization produced by the nasal initial (final -ing is phonemically anomalous in Lashi). Similarly, the form nyi

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Maru

601 (MB) scarcely fits into the Maru phonetic pattern, since after initial n- the final -i of Burmese is represented by -e rather than -i; cf. Maru ne "red", Burmese ni; Maru ne "near", Burmese ni^3. We must conclude that the term has been borrowed from Kachin, the semantic link being found in Lashi yuk-ni WM, MBW (Kachin ni means MBW as well as FSi, WM). For MB Lashi uses the affinal term yuk-p'o (infra).

The sibling terms likewise show striking differences from those in Burmese. Nau ySb (also ǎ-nau "infant , in Clerk), which often appears in the nasalized form naung, can be identified as a Kachin loan-word, since Lashi has no rather than *nu (see the discussion above), and the same can be said of the term k'au xCo, Lashi k'ou. Pai ~ bai oSi (Lashi pe ~ be) is perhaps connected with Burmese a-pai " madam" (used by husband to wife). The especial term for yB(ws), viz. maung (Lashi mung), exactly agrees with Burmese mong; cf. Maru t'aung "1,000", Burmese $t'ong^3$; Maru paung "thigh", Burmese pong. Maru mong, Lashi mang oB seems to be identical with the element $-mang^3$ of Burmese u^3-$mang^3$ MyB. Lashi has a term for ySi, viz. nam-mo (vide infra).

As noted above, Maru k'au xCo is a Kachin loan-word. The distinctions between parallel and cross cousins, and between FSiD and MBD, are found also in Kachin, hence one must suspect that influences from that language have been at work here. Nyi equates MB with MBD, or, in view of Lashi yuk-ni (supra), MBW with MBD. Another serial equation

601 is found in uk ~ ok FSiD (Webb) but defined in Clerk as "nephew, niece", and Lashi so-ok FSiD(ms), SiCh(ws). The etymology of this term is not apparent, though phonetically it corresponds to Burmese ui ("old"), used in k'ai^3-ui oSi(ws).

The categorical equations found in the affinal terminology sharply sets off the Maru system from the Burmese. The further distinction between nyi WF and vung HF points to Kachin influence, yet note that, unlike Kachin, a single term (Maru ma, Lashi ming-mo) covers WM and HM. Maru vung ~ vum HF, FSiH, Lashi vang-mo HF, FoSiH, vang-t'ang FySiH, indicate an original *wang; cf. Maru p'ung "to open", Burmese p'wang^1; Maru dung "hole, pit", Burmese twang^3; for the root thus reconstructed, cf. Nung wang FB.

The material on Sbl terms is somewhat confusing and hence a complete description cannot be given. Kachin influence is much in evidence, however, both in loan-words (k'au Bl, nau ySbl) and in native terms (pai HoBW=oSi, Kachin na HoBW=oSi). Clerk also cites rat ~ ma-rat oSil, from Kachin rat, id., as shown both by the presence of the non-Maru prefix ma- and by the phonetic development (-at < -e in native words, vide supra, but -at retained in loan-words, as in pat "to read", Burmese pat; myat "profit", Burmese mrat; pǎ-cat "womb", Kachin pǎ-jat). Lashi differs from Maru in equating oSiH(ws) with HF (a-vang oSiH, vang-mo HF) rather than with oB (mong ~ mo), yet Lashi does retain mang (Maru mong) in the meaning "HyB".

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601 Yuk-mo MoSi is found in Lashi in the general meaning "Sil". Phonetically, this term belongs in the series Maru -auk, Lashi -uk ~ -ok, Burmese -ok; cf. Maru lauk "stone", Lashi luk, Burmese kyok < *k-lok; Maru kyauk "to fear", Lashi kyuk, Burmese krok; Maru šauk "to drink", Lashi šiuk ~ šok, Burmese sok. The term is therefore directly connected with the element yok of Burmese yok-k'ǎ-ma' Fl, yok-ma' Sil(ws), yok-p'a' Bl(ms). The Maru word yuk-mo rather than *yauk-mo must, if correctly recorded, be considered a loan from Lashi. Maru has yauk-kai "male (human)", and yauk-p'o "husband", yauk-p'o ryi "husband's relations" (ryi is plural suffix). In Lashi, however, the corresponding term yuk-p'o is used for MB, WF (= Maru nyi); cf. so-p'o (lit. "son's father"), cited in Abbey both for H and for Fl. We thus have the following series: Burmese yok-p'a' Bl(ms), Maru yauk-p'o H, Lashi yuk-p'o MB, WF, all three terms directly cognate. Since *yok is fundamentally an affinal element, the Lashi term yuk-p'o can be regarded as basically referring to WF rather than to MB. The above series can then be restated as follows: Burmese yok-p'a' WB, Maru yauk-p'o "brother's WB", Lashi yuk-p'o WF, i.e. affinal male relative through wife. Maru yauk-p'o H is thus to be regarded as secondary, i.e. a woman borrows her brother's term in referring to her own husband.

Maru uk ~ ok and tau parallel Kachin k'ri and nam in showing categorical equations between Sl, Dl and xCi, XN. Lashi so-auk Sl is simply a variant of so-ok FSiD(ms), SiCh(ms).

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Maru
Atsi

601 Maru tam-mo Dl is replaced in Lashi by tu-nam, while Lashi also has nam-mo ySi(ms). Kachin nam, on the other hand, denotes Dl, WySi, MBD(ys), but never ySi. We had inferred above, from the use of Burmese -hnam in the combination mong-hnam, that hnam was originally used for ySi(ms), and this view is corroborated by the Lashi evidence.

The Maru-Lashi terminology in general shows marked deviations from the Burmese, both lexically and structurally. A number of Kachin loan-words have been taken over, often with semantic changes, and the equating of consanguineal and affinal relatives is much like that in Kachin. These features appear in exaggerated form in the terminology of the Atsi, a frontier tribe of Maru-Lashi stock who have identified themselves with the Lahpai branch of the Kachin. The Atsi terms, with Kachin loan-words underlined, are given belo

Atsi Consanguineal Terms

(i-)woi gM		(i-)gi gF
(i-)nu M		(i-)wa F
mi-mo MoSi,FoBW		p'a-mo FoB,MoSiH
mi-t'ang MySi,FyBW		p'a-t'ang FyB,MySiH
(i-)moi FSi		(i-)gu MB
(i-)na eSi,MBD,pC		(i-)mang eB,MBS,pC
	no ySb,MBCh,pC	
ning FSiD		k'ri FSiS
	zo Ch,pS	
	tu BCh(ws)	
	ma-ou SiCh(ms)	
	šu gCh	

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Atsi Affinal Terms

(i-)moi HM　　　　(i-)za WF

ou-mo WM, MBW　　　　(i-)ku HF, FSiH, HoB, oSiH(ws)

(i-)ning Sil(ws)　　　　k'au Bl(ms)

(i-)rat WoSi, ySiH(ws), oBW(ms), HyB

tu-mo Dl, WySi, yBW(ms)　　　　ma-ou Sl, HSiCh

Notes:

The concentration of Kachin loan-words in the terminology for relatives older than Ego is immediately apparent from a glance at the above table. These borrowed terms are generally prefixed with i-, yet the native term mang oB also has this prefix, which can thus be regarded as a type of honorific. Similarly, the remaining terms, applied to relatives younger than Ego, are generally prefixed with nga- ("my"), e.g. nga-zo Ch, nga-gu (for nga-ko) ySb (but a-ko in Davies), nga-du (for nga-tu) BCh(ws), yet the Kachin loan-word šu gCh also has this prefix. Note also the distinction drawn between i-zo oBCh and nga-zo yBCh (Webb).

It is of interest that the Maru-Lashi root *mang oB should have been retained while *pai oSi was being replaced by Kachin na. Perhaps mang was felt to have honorific significance; cf. Burmese mang^3 "ruler, governor, official". The retention of native terms for MSi and FB may reflect a behavior pattern of informality towards these relatives.

The grouping of MBCh with parallel cousins appears to be an Atsi innovation, but our material on Atsi is not sufficiently full to appraise the possible significance of this change.

The term ko ySb (written gu in Webb) cannot be placed. Sa-ou closely parallels Lashi so-ok, and corresponds to Burmese *ui; cf. Atsi au "pot", Burmese ui^3; Atsi k'au "to steal", Burmese k'ui^3; Atsi ngau "to weep", Burmese ngui; Atsi t'au "to pierce", Burmese t'ui^3; Atsi kau "9", Burmese kui^3 (ou and au are interchangeable). For the relationship between sa-ou Sl and ou-mo WM,MBW, cf. Maru uk Sl,MBW. It would seem that an original reciprocal element *ui is involved here. The retention of the native term for WM rather than substitution by the Kachin term ni can be explained in terms of this connection with sa-ou Sl, a term for a relative younger than Ego.

The root *mi M is retained in (nga-)mi W, while (nga-)lang H agrees with the Maru-Burmese root *lang. Webb cites the teknonymous terms nga-zo yang-mu M ("my-child his-mother") and nga-zo yang-wa F ("my-child his-father").

We have no ethnographic material on the Maru or Lashi, but a brief note on the Atsi appears in Scott (p. 404). Scott describes an arrangement whereby "one family is so to speak general parents-in-law to another family and gives females only to members of the latter family", and adds that there is a "well recognized series of families among which women are regularly given or taken in marriage". It is apparent from the foregoing that the Atsi have marriage regulations of Kachin type. In the case of the Maru and Lashi, however, who have been less strongly influenced by the Kachin, no

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601 conclusions can be drawn, despite the categorical equations in their kinship terminology.

Achang (Hotha Shan, Maingtha Shan), spoken in the Möng Hsa valley of the Southern Shan States, is a fourth language of Maru type. A few of its kinship terms have been recorded by Davies, Anderson, and Taylor (in the LSI). Achang is unusual in having preserved the Burmese root ńi ySb, in the terms a-nyi yB, a-nyi a-nyo yo ySi (cf. i-nyo "woman, wife"). Be oSi (Davies, in Scott) belongs with Lashi pe, Maru pai, and a-mong B (Anderson) with either *mang or *mong. In contrast to the languages just examined, no Kachin loan-words appear in Achang, spoken south of the Kachin area. Some Shan loan-words may occur, however; note especially tsai oB, Shan pi-sai; sau-ke oSi, Shan s'au "young unmarried woman".

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[101] The Southern Lolo languages, spoken in the Southern Shan States, Laos, and Tonkin, are phonetically intermediate between Burmese-Maru and the Northern Lolo languages of southwestern China. The best preserved of these languages are Phunoi, in the French Laos, and the closely related Pyen, in Kengtung State, but our knowledge of the kinship terms of these languages is incomplete (Phunoi has been recorded only by Roux, and Pyen only by Stirling, in Scott). Akha (Kaw), which is spoken in the 5th Military District of the Laos and in Kengtung, has been recorded by Roux, Antisdel,

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Lahu

197 601 Stirling (in Scott), and Taylor (in the LSI), while Stirling has also given us a record of Akö, a dialect of Akha. Lahu, another language of Kengtung State, has been described by Stirling, Davies, Antisdel, and Taylor (in the LSI). Both Akha and Lahu have been phonetically altered to such a degree that analysis is difficult, especially with the meagre material at our disposal. A list of Lahu kinship terms appears in the census report by Webb (p. lxiii), in the columns headed 'Myen' and 'Muhso' (Shan terms for the Lahu), but this material cannot be trusted. The writer has not been able to make use of the recently published Lahu grammar and dictionary by J. H. Telford, but has had the opportunity of discussing Lahu with the author (Harvard, March 17, 1941) and has thus been led to be skeptical of the terms cited in Webb. A group of four Southern Lolo languages spoken in the canton of Tüöng-yên, Haut-Tonkin, have been recorded by Bonifacy, who has added a few ethnographic notes on these tribes (Black Lolo, Mán Khoang, White Lolo, and Mông). Still other Southern Lolo languages, such as the Woni of southern China, are too little known to merit consideration.

601 Of the material mentioned above, only that relating to Lahu approaches completeness. We have indicated, however, that the Lahu data are not reliable, and we have hence refrained from tabulating the Lahu terms. Our remarks must of necessity, therefore, be confined to more general observations.

The Southern Lolo kinship terminologies are on the whole of Burmese type and many of the Burmese-Maru roots are represented, as shown by the following list:

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Lahu

601 gF *p'ui: Akha a-p'o, Lahu a-p'u, Man Khoanh, Black Lolo po, White Lolo pö, and perhaps Phunoi a-hu, Mũng hõu (cf. Mũng ngõu "to weep", Burmese ngui; Mũng yõu "breast", Black and White Lolo yu).

gM *p'i: Phunoi, Akha, Lahu a-p'i, Mũng p'i, and perhaps Man Khoanh pe. A distinct root is represented by Black and White Lolo te.

F *p'a: Lahu a-p'a, Man Khoanh p'a, White Lolo pa, Black Lolo po, Mũng pö möö (Black Lolo, Mũng -o < -a in most instances; cf. Black Lolo, Mũng so "salt", Burmese ts'a; Black Lolo, Mũng lo "to come", Burmese la; Black Lolo, Mũng ngo "5", Burmese nga^3). Akha has a-ta ~ a-da F, comparable with Burmese (Mandalay) t'a^3-t'a^3.

M *ma: Akha, Akö a-ma, Man Khoanh, White Lolo ma, Black Lolo mo. Phunoi, Pyen a-ba also belong here, since stops have in some instances been developed from nasals in these languages; cf. Phunoi, Pyen ga "I", Burmese nga; Phunoi da "sick", Burmese na; Phunoi bi "fire", Burmese mi^3. Mũng bo M may also belong here. Note that in Southern Lolo a-ma rather than a-mi or a-me is employed, with the exception of Lahu, which has both a-me (Burmese a-me or a-mai) and a-ye (cf. Arakanese a-ywe "maternal aunt").

ySb *mí: Akha, Lahu nyi ySb (Lahu also nyi-ma ySi), White Lolo ni ySi (also oSi), Black Lolo ne ySi.

Ch *za, D *za-mi: Akha za Ch, za-mi ~ ya-mi "girl", za-mi a-bu D, za-mi-za ~ ya-mi-ya "woman", mi-sa ~ mi-ya W, Lahu ya-pa S, ya-mi ~ za-mi D, Phunoi ya-kat-ya Ch, Pyen

601 ya-plong S, ya-bye D, Müng sio Ch. This alternation between initial a- and y- has not been observed in other roots, but the material is not abundant. Some of the ya forms are perhaps related rather to the element -ya^3 of Burmese yok-ya^3 "man", mă-ya^3 "wife" (Akha mi-sa ~ mi-ya); note especially Akö ya-yu S, ya-mi D, ya-yo "man" (yok-ya^3 reversed), ya-me "woman" (mă-ya^3 reversed), but ka-ma "wife (Burmese yok-k'ă-ma' "parents-in-law"). White Lolo a, Man Khoanh a-mi, Black Lolo o, perhaps belong with the same root, but cf. the Abor-Miri root *a Ch.

Other Burmese roots are represented only in a single language. Akha a-kö B (Roux) can be compared with the element -kui of Burmese ate-kui; cf. Akha gö "9", Burmese kui^3; Akha pö " silk", Burmese pui^3 "silk, insect". Burmese mre^3 < *m-li is perhaps represented by Akha (nga-)li S (Stirling), a-li "boy" (Antisdel), and Burmese tu-ma' xNi by Akha tu-ma ~ to-ma Si. Pyen bong (< *mong), Phunọi a-mo (< *mong) F appear to be cognate with Burmese a-mong yB. Note that Pyen and Phunoi retain *p'a, the regular root for F, as a suffixed element in the word for "cock", viz. Pyen ya-pa, Phunoi k'ia-p'a (Burmese krak-p'a').

Only a few of the parents' siblings' terms are known, and these few are of little value. According to the lists in Webb, Lahu distinguishes between maternal and paternal aunts and uncles, viz. vi pau mo e tari MSi, vi ya FSi; vi paų ho e tari MB, p'au vi-pa FB. Despite this, ~~however,~~ a single term ni vi pa ya (with a- or nga- prefix) is

Lahu

601 cited for the cousins of all four collateral lines, and (nga-)vi ya mi is cited both for BCh(ms) and BCh(ws), i.e. both parallel and cross nephew.

Lahu vyi(-pa) oB, vyi(-ma) oSi (identical with vi of the above terms), belongs with Man Khoanh, Black and White Lolo vi, Mŭng biŏi oB, Man Khoanh sa-vi, Mŭng biŏi-a oSi. For the phonetic development, cf. Man Khoanh, White Lolo vi, Black Lolo u-vi, Mŭng vŏi "snake". Note also Phunoi a-ŭ "uncle", ŭ "snake". This root cannot be traced in Burmese, unless it be connected with we < *wi "an inelegant term of compellation, masculine or feminine, used by men or women". Another prominent root, perhaps cognate with Achang tsi "wife", is represented by Phunoi a-tsu Si, Pyen a-tsi oSi, Akŏ a-su oSi. Cf. also Phunoi lu ai B, Pyen a-ai oB, Akŏ ai-i oB, perhaps a loan-word from Shan ai (applied to eldest son); and Man Khoanh lu yB, ySi, Black Lolo lu ~ lung yB.

The affinal terminology of the Southern Lolo languages is still more obscure than the consanguineal. The Lahu list in Webb is fairly extensive, but untrustworthy. The teknonymous use of a-p'i gM for Ml, and a-p'u gF for Fl, however, has been checked by information received from Telford. Akha (nga-)mi la ma Ml (Stirling) probably stands for (nga-)mi-ya ma, lit. "wife of mother" (Stirling cites la-gu la Ch, with la for ma ~ ya). Pyen has yok-pa Fl, agreeing with Lashi yuk-p'o WF rather than with Burmese yok-p'aʾ WB. The k'ă- prefix of the Burmese affinal terminology is represented here by Phunoi k'ă-ba < *k'ă-ma,

Lahu

601 Pyen ka-ba < *ka-ma, Akö ka-ma W. This element has a much more generalized usage in Southern Lolo, however; cf. Phunoi ya-kat k'Ŭ-p'si-a "boy", yat-kat k'Ŭ-bai-a "girl", Pyen ka-pa-la "man", ka-ba-la "woman", Akha (nga-)ka-so-ya H (Stirling), ka-so-ya "man" (Stirling), K'a-je-sa "man" (Antisdel), Man Khoanh sa-pua-k'a, White Lolo sa-ka, Black Lolo sa-ko "boy", Black Lolo ko-pu "male" (ko < *ka). Some of the Sbl terms appear to be identical with consanguineal terms; cf. Phunoi a-tsŭ Sil, a-tsu Si; Akha a-yŭ Bl, a-yu oB, a-nyi Sil, ySb.

The above rather heterogeneous array of material serves the purpose of establishing the Burmese affinities of Southern Lolo kinship terminology and of indicating the nature of this link between Burmese and the better known Northern Lolo languages. It is doubtful whether the general problems in connection with Burmish-Loloish terminology as a whole can be solved without some detailed information on these southern members of the group. The ethnographic sources on these tribes (Lunet de Lajonquière, Diguet, Telford, Scott, Bonifacy, Roux) contribute very little toward the filling of these lacunae, since topics such as clan organization and marriage regulations are scrupulously avoided by these authorities. There are no indications of cousin marriage, with the exception of the statement made by Telford to the writer, that the Lahu Shi (one of the two main Lahu divisions, the other being the

Lahu

601 Lahu Na) sometimes marry their cousins (unspecified) but that the practice is frowned upon. For the Lolo of Tonkin, Bonifacy reports the practice of the levirate (with widow of oB only) and the sororate (a man may marry his wife's sister). Bonifacy also notes that people of the same *tính* (Annamite loan-word, ultimately from Chinese 姓 hsing "family name") cannot marry, but offers no details.

The matrilocal custom of the Burmese is found among several of these tribes, sometimes in what appears to be vestigial form. Among the Lahu, the Sl serves his Fl for a period of 1-3 years (Lahu Na) or 7 years (Lahu Shi), according to verbal information received from Telford (cf. also Telford, 1937, p. 96, and Scott, p. 586). The same practice (period of 3 years) formerly obtained among the Phunoi (until ca. 1900), but now the daughter-in-law must serve her husband's parents for one year (Roux, pp. 466,473). The Akha are patrilocal (the couple live in a small house near the groom's parents, vide Telford). After the marriage ceremony, the Akha bride weeps and sings a song telling of her sadness, after which she promises to return after her parent's death to pay the last duties; the bridegroom, furthermore, returns to the home of his bride's parents and presents offerings. In view of the matrilocal customs of their neighbors, it is not hard to look upon these features as transitional elements. Among the Lolo of Tonkin, the couple return to the bride's parents' home for

Lahu
Lisu

601 a two-day visit, and the bride returns again alone and remains with her parents until she becomes pregnant (Lunet de Lajonquiere, pp. 322 and sq.). This practice is also found among the Tai peoples of Tonkin (ibid.), from whom it may have been borrowed, yet it can well be interpreted along the lines suggested above. Writing of the same Lolo groups, Bonifacy observes that a man may earn his wife by working for his father-in-law and taking the family name (姓 tính) of the latter, or that he may obtain his wife without changing his name, and without paying for her, by supporting his aged parents-in-law.

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[101] The Northern Lolo languages fall into several large groups, viz. Lisu, a central bloc (Ahi, Nyi, Lolopho), a southeastern bloc (Chöko, Phupha), an eastern bloc (Ulu, Nasö), and the Independent Lolo dialects of Szuchuan. Of the above languages, Lisu, Ahi, and Nyi are fairly well known and Lolopho is somewhat less fully known, while the remaining languages have been recorded only in fragments. The general linguistic picture, however, is much clearer than in the case of the Southern Lolo languages, e.g. tonal equations have been worked out for Lisu, Ahi, and Nyi (in relation to Burmese). The bulk of the literature on the Lolo is entirely disproportionate to its value, largely because of the failure to recognize the thoroughgoing Burmese affiliations of these peoples. Much of it is

197 occupied with the futile question of the etymology of the name "Lo-lo", and with (largely) sterile discussions of Chinese sources. The most valuable of a number of articles of this type is the scholarly contribution by Feng and Shryock (cited infra).

One of the most useful criteria in distinguishing among these languages is found in the treatment of final -a, which is ordinarily retained in Lisu, Nyi, and Phupha, is shifted to -o in Ahi, Lolopho, and Chöko (somewhat irregularly here), to -u in the Ulu-Nagö dialects, and is retained or shifted to -ŏ, -ə in the Independent Lolo group. These correspondences are illustrated by the following table:

	Lisu	Nyi	Phupha	Ahi	Lolopho	Chöko	Ulu	Ind. Lolo
eat	dza	dza	dza	dzo	dzo	zo	dzu	dzŏ
salt	ts'a	ts'a	-	ts'o	ts'o	-	ts'u	tsŏ
five	ngwa	nga	nga	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngu	ngə

This criterion is not absolute, e.g. the Lisu dialect recorded in Clarke (Appendix II) has -o rather than -a, but is useful as a rule-of-thumb procedure.

601 In the present discussion the Lisu terminology will be analyzed first, followed by the Ahi-Nyi-Lolopho terminology [101] and annotations on the remaining groups. The Lisu (Lisaw) are primarily a Salween valley people, but have colonized extensively throughout most of Yunnan and have penetrated into northern Burma and the Shan States. The primary sources are the works of Fraser and Rose and Brown, but a number of

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601 word-lists are available, those in Liétard (1909), Anderson, Davies, Scott, and the LSI (by Taylor) being the most important. Four different lists of kinship terms are given in Webb (pp. xlvii, xlix, lxii, lxiii), each showing many discrepancies, most of which are the result of the bizarre orthographies employed. Some ethnographic material is included in the first two sources and in Scott, and a sketch of the Lisu is given by Guibaut (pp. 316 and sq.).

Lisu Consanguineal Terms

(a-)lü-ma	gggM	(a-)lü	gggF
(a-)p'i-ma	ggM	(a-)p'i	ggF
(a-)za	gM	(a-)pa	gF
(a-)ma	M	(a-)ba	F
(a-)wo-ma	MSi,FBW	(a-)wo	FB,MSiH
(a-)nyi^4	FSi,MBW	(a-)wü	MB,FSiH
(a-)tsi	eSi,pC	(a-)yi ko-ko	eB,pC
nyi^3-ma	ySi,pC	nyi^3-za	yB,pC
kwa-c'o-ma	xCi	kwa-c'o	xCe
(a-)mi	D,pNi	za	S,pNe
mü-du	Ni	za-du	Ne,C
za-ma	xNi	[illegible]	xNe
li-ma	gD	li-pa	gS
lü-ma	ggD	lü-pa	ggS

Lisu

Lisu Affinal Terms

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ma-ma	Ml	ba-ba	Fl
sa-mö	W	sa-gu	H
ma-la	oBW,HoBW	ci-fü	oSiH(ws),WoSiH
o'i-ma	Dl	me	Sl

Notes:

The grandparent terms are those cited in Fraser. Three different arrangements appear in the lists in Webb, viz. a-la gF, a-pye gM (p. xlix); a-p'a FF, a-za FM, a-p'i MF,MM (p. lxiii); a-pa gF, a-za FM, a-p'o MM (pp. lxii, xlvii). There is thus some evidence for a distinction between maternal and paternal grandparents. A-pa gF belongs in the a-ba F series, other variants of which are a-p'a F, p'a "male suffix for birds", a-pa^1 "male suffix for animals" (on different tone from a-pa^3 gF); it thus parallels Miri a-to gF, a-yo gM, developed from roots meaning "F" and "M", respectively. A-p'i ggF is exactly equivalent to Burmese a-p'e^3 < *a-p'i, but in some dialects, at any rate, it may be applied to gF rather than to ggF (as elsewhere in Lolo). The regular root for gF, as found in Burmese a-p'ui^3, is represented only in the phrase a-p'ü a-pa "ancestors" (Lisu -ü corresponds to Burmese -ui after initial labials, e.g. p'ü "price", Burmese a-p'ui; bü "silk", Burmese pui^3; mü "sky", Burmese mui^3); it is perhaps related to p'ü "price, to be precious" via p'ü " to honour, esteem, respect" (cf. the remarks on Kachin, pt. 7). Reciprocal terminology

Lisu

601 as reflected in a-lă ggF, lă-za ggS, a-ma gM, za S (note that in each case the ascending generation is one more removed from Ego than the descending generation).

The Lisu feeling for reciprocity can also be seen in the collective terms pa-la "father and children", ma-la "mother and children", pi-li "grandparent and grandchild" (pi^1-li^5, tonally distinct from p'i^2 gF, li^1 gCh), and note also ts'i-za lă-za "posterity, descendants" (ts'i "age"). The element -la appears elsewhere only in la-ts'o "person"; it may be connected with the Tibeto-Burman root *la "male" (Burmese a-la^3), and yields a better etymology than any other for the ethnic term La-la ~ Lo-lo ~ Lu-lu (root *la-la, vide supra), meaning simply "the people" (as Lolopho "a man of the Lolo tribe").

A-nyi FSi, written nye-nya, ni-nya in Webb, is from one standard Tibeto-Burman root (Tib. ʼa-ne), but the affinities of a-wo FB and a-vŭ are not apparent, and the discussion of these terms has been reserved for the following section (on Ahi and Nyi). The MSi terms are uncertain, since Fraser cites a-wo-ma only for FBW, but in Webb we find o-ma MoSi, FoBW, along with nu-so MySi,FyBW (the latter has not been identified). According to Fraser (p. 64), an especial term, viz. a-wo-p'a (p'a is male suffix) is used for father's eldest brother, while the remaining brothers are counted in Chinese fashion, with the aid of Chinese numerals, e.g. a-wo-lye "second uncle", a-wo-sa "third uncle", a-wo-si

Lisu

601 "fourth uncle". Webb cites a-p'a ~ u-p'a (= a-wo-p'a) FoB, MoSiH, a-wo ~ wo-wo FyB, MySiH, and Scott gives wu-p'a "uncle". The reduplication shown by wo-wo FyB is rather characteristic of Lisu; cf. a-ba ~ ba-ba F, a-ma ~ ma-ma M, vi-vi (for a-vü) MB, c'a-c'o (for kwa-d'o) xCo, ko-ko oB, ci-ci (for a-tsi) oSi.

Lisu *nyi ySb, which is tonally differentiated from a-nyi FSi, shows the extension of the Burmese-Akha root into Northern Lolo, while a-yi must be derived from the Southern Lolo root *wi oB (Lisu lacks the combination wi, and hence has substituted yi). A-tsi oSi, which often appears in reduplicated form (ci-ci, je-je, si-se, si-ce, ci-ce) resembles a root found in Southern Lolo (e.g. Pyen a-tsi oSi), but seems at least to have been influenced by Chinese chieh-chieh (姐姐) oSi. The parallel term ko-ko oB is unquestionably a Chinese loan-word (哥哥 ko-ko). There is no sure evidence that sex of speaker is distinguished in the sibling terms. The native term a-yi is used in the phrase yi-sa nyi-sa "relations".

Lisu za S (often written ra ~ la), a-mi D, and li gCh are directly cognate to Burmese sa^3, mi^2, and mre^3, respectively. Lisu has an alternative term for S, a-bi, which cannot be identified. Paralleling Burmese mre^3 < *m-li gCh, mrats < *m-lik ggCh, Lisu has li gCh, lä < *lak ggCh (for -ä < -ak, cf. nyä "bird", Burmese hngak; t'ä "up", Burmese a-t'ak; nä "black", nä "deep", Burmese nak; myä "eye", Burmese myak; syä "breath", Burmese a-sak.

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Our data on the collateral terms of Lisu are so inconsistent and conflicting that no certain conclusions can be reached. Fraser (p. 64) states that cousins on the father's side are called "brothers and sisters", and in his list of terms restricts the terms kwa-c'o and kwa-c'o-ma to cousins on the mother's side. The latter terms, however, are used for FSiCh as well as MBCh, according to the material in Webb, and the siblings terms are extended to include MSiCh as well as FBCh. The element -c'o appears also in c'o-pā "friend, companion, mate", but is otherwise isolated.

Sa-za and sa-ma, formed with a sa- element found also in Nyi, can definitely be placed as xN terms. As shown in the above table, za S and a-mi D are extended to include pNe and pNi, respectively, yet za-du and mi-du are also employed in this sense as well as for "cousin". Neither term appears in the list in Webb, p. xlvii, yet in the list on p. xlix we find za-du used for BCh(ws),SiCh(ms), WBCh,HSiCh,WSiCh,FBCh,MBCh,MSiCh! Significantly enough, however, in this same list a separate term (a-pa) is employed for FSiCh (a man marries his FSiD, vide infra). Since the cognate Burmese-Maru term *tu is applied specifically to xN, it would seem that Lisu has transferred this term to pN or to C while developing a new set of terms (sa-za, sa-ma) for xN.

As shown by the terms ma-ma Ml, ba-ba Fl, consanguineal and affinal kin are commonly equated in Lisu. Fraser (p. 64) makes the following statement:

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> It should also be noted that the Lisu has no term for any relation-in-law, except daughter-in-law (hchi-ma) and elder sister-in-law (ma-la). A daughter-in-law refers to her father and mother, brothers and sisters-in-law as her own father, mother, brothers and sisters respectively. Her own brothers, after her marriage, are referred to as her hpa-mu, and her own sisters as her ne-ma.

This statement is not entirely accurate, inasmuch as at least two other affinal terms are in use (ci-fü, me), in addition to the terms p'a-mu and ne-ma cited in the last sentence. Fraser's definition of the latter two terms is not clear. Webb gives nye-ma yBW(ms), contrasting with ma-la oBW(mws), apparently the same as Fraser's ne-ma, but p'a-mu does not appear in other sources. The terms seem to be identical with Nyi p'a-mu yB(ws), nö-ma ySi(ms), hence it is particularly regrettable that our information on them is not more precise.

Ma-la oBW,HoBW (but defined in Anderson as "Si") is the collective term for "mother and children" (supra), employed here as an honorific. The corresponding term ci-fü (ci-fi, ci-fu, je-fü) oSiH(ws),WoSiH is a Chinese loan-word (姐夫 chieh-fu). C'i-ma (si-ma) is directly cognate with Burmese k'rwe^3-ma' < *k'rwi^3-ma' (Lisu c'- < k'r-- cf. c'i "foot", Burmese k're; c'o "6", Burmese k'rok), and marks the only appearance of this root in Northern Lolo. Fraser does not cite the term for Si, but does give ma-lä-p'a "bridegroom", c'i-ma-lä "bride" (lä^1 "young", tonally distinct from lä^2 "ggCh"), while the forms (ngo-)mi [illegible] nyur (cf. sur for

Lisu

601 za S) Sl are found in Webb. This term cannot be equated with Burmese sa-mak, since final -ak yields -å rather than -e in Lisu (supra), and its affiliations remain in doubt.

Both za-mö W (za-mö za "woman", za-mö-lå-za "maiden") and za-gu H (za-gu-lå "youth") contain the element za S in combination, indicating that they may be of teknonymous origin. The element -gu can be compared with Burmese -kui in ats-kui oB and Akha a-kö B (cf. Lisu ku "9", Burmese kui^3; k'u "to steal", Burmese k'ui^3; tu "short", Burmese tui). The Burmese-Maru element *yok, used for affinal relatives, is represented by mü-ro-ma "2nd wife", mü-ro-p'a "2nd husband", the terms for "1st wife" and "1st husband" being mü-wu-ma and mü-wu-p'a, respectively (wu "big"). Ro, like the cognate Burmese yok, is the numerary adjunct for mankind. The phonetic shifts are regular, since r- has been developed from y- in some instances (ru "to take", Burmese yu; rå ~ yå "to hit, as a bullet", Burmese yak; a-ro "sheep , early loan-word from Chinese 羊 yang), and -o stands for final -ok, as in go "to pick up", Burmese kok; c'o "6", Burmese k'rok; to "poison", Burmese tok; lo "enough", Burmese lok. For the semantics, cf. Maru yauk-p'o H.

The Lisu terminology outlined above has much in common with that of the central bloc of Lolo languages, viz. Ahi, Nyi, and Lolopho, spoken in central and east-central Yunnan. The Ulu-Nesö languages of the Yunnan-Kueichou border area, and the Ipdependent Lolo languages of Szuchuan, are of the

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601 same general type, while the Chŏko and Phupha languages of Tonkin show only minor aberrancies. All these languages will be considered together in connection with the Nyi terminology tabulated below. The Nyi terms, which are rather carefully defined in the classic source by Vial (1909), are the best known of the lot, but Liétard has given us valuable studies on Ahi (1909, 1911, 1912) and Lolopho (1909, 1913). Schirokogoroff's study of the Buš dialect is of some value in interpreting the orthographies employed by Vial and Liétard. Chŏko and Phupha have been recorded by Bonifacy (in Liétard, 1909). The Ulu-Nasŏ and Independent Lolo terms cited below have been excerpted from scattered word-lists in Liétard (1909), Madrolle, Boell, Clarke, and d'Ollone (Kopu-Nasŏ no. 15, Ulu nos. 16 and 19, Independent Lolo nos. 30, 31, 32).

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Nyi

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Nyi Consanguineal Terms

(a-)du-ma	gggM	(a-)du	gggF
(a-)be-ma	ggM	(a-)be	ggF
(a-)p'i	gM	(a-)bu	gF
(a-)ma	M	(a-)ba	F
(a-)ma-giä	MoSi	(a-)ba-giä	FoB
(a-)ma-χə	MySi	(a-)ba-χə	FyB
(a-)nyi	FoSi	(a-)hngə	MoB
(a-)nyi-zà	FySi	(a-)hngə-χə	MyB
(a-)ža	oSi,pC	(a-)pu	oB,pC

ngä-k'e ySb(ss),pC

nö-ma	ySi(ms)	p'a-mu	yB(ws)
		(a-)nyi-zá	FSiS
(a-)mä	FSiD,MBD	(a-)nhgə-zá	MBS
(á-)mä	D	za	S
		za-tu	Ne
χə-a-mä	gD	χə-za	gS
		χe-za	ggS

Nyi Affinal Terms

(a-)nyi-mo	WM	(a-)hngə-mo	WF
žu-ma	HM	žu-p'a	HF
(a-)mi	oBW	(a-)pu	WoB
(a-)mä	HSi	(a-)hngə-zá	WyB
za-mä-χə	Di	za-hngə	Si,SiH(ms)

Nyi

601 Notes:

The terms a-be ggF, a-bu gF, and a-p'i gM closely parallel Burmese a-p'e^3, a-p'ui^3, and (Maru) a-p'yit < *a-p'yi, respectively. Ahi has a-p'i gM, a-pu gF, and Ulu has pie gM, bu gF, while Ind. Lolo has a-p'u gF. Chöko and Phupha a-p'o gM are perhaps cognate with Burmese a-p'wa^3, a root which is otherwise absent in the Lolo languages. Lolopho has a distinct set of terms, viz. a-le gF, a-nä gM, and Ind. Lolo has a-ma gM (cf. Lisu a-pa gF). Indications of distinctions between the paternal and maternal lines are lacking.

A-ba F and a-ma M are of almost universal occurrence, e.g. Lolopho a-bo < *ba F, a-mo < *ma M. Ahi has a-mo M, but a-ba rather than *a-bo F, the regular -o vocalism appearing only in the male suffixes -po and p'o; cf. mä "woman" (= Burmese miˀ). Ulu-Besö has a-da ~ a-di F (cf. Akha) and a-nye ~ a-ye M (cf. Lahu), while in Ind. Lolo a-ta is used by children, a-bu ~ a-bo ~ a-pa by adults. The alternate Ulu term, viz. tie F, has been borrowed from Chinese (爹 tieh).

Both Ahi and Nyi describe the birth-order of FB, MSi in Chinese fashion, but with native terms. Nyi a-ba-giä FoB is identical with Burmese p'ä-kri^3 (cf. dä "to beat", Burmese ti^3, a-mä-mä "self", Burmese miˀ-miˀ; mä "tail", Burmese mri^3; a-mä "daughter", Burmese a-miˀ), with Ahi giä, Burmese kri^3 "big". The element -le is likewise comparable with the -le^3 of Burmese u^3-le^3 FyB. The terms

Nyi

601 for the youngest siblings are formed with nya "small", viz. a-ba-nya, a-ma-nya, and a-hngə-nya, and an especial term, a-ma-ka, is used for the next-to-youngest sister of M. Ahi has mo M,MSi, mo-li (= Nyi a-ma-ka) "2nd oldest Si of M", mo-cu "3rd oldest Si of M", and mo-na (= Nyi a-ma-nya) "youngest Si of M"; also a-ba bi-ta FoB (bi-ta "big"), and a-ra FyB, on the same tone as ra "big" (e.g. zo ra "eldest son"). It is tempting to connect this term with Burmese a-ri^3 FSi, u^3-ri^3 MoB, ma-ri^3 oSiL, since Ahi -a regularly corresponds to Nyi -a, Burmese -i; cf. ka "big", Burmese kri^3; k'a "to lift", Burmese k'yi; da "to beat", Burmese ti^3; na "near", Burmese ni^3; a-ma "self", Burmese mi'-mi'; ma "tail", Burmese mri^3; sa "to know", Burmese si'; sa "fruit", Burmese si^3 (Tibeto-Burman *-si in this series).

The important FSi and MB terms are known only for Nyi, but the latter can be inferred for Ahi. Nyi a-nyi FSi (but used for FoSi) agrees with Lisu a-nyi, and shows age distinctions just as the other PSb terms do; note the tonal difference between a-nyi-zà FySi, with the diminutive suffix -zà, and a-nyi-zá FSiS, with zá S (we retain Vial's tonal notation). For Ahi we have only a-vu-mu Fl, but from the Nyi affinal terminology (infra) we can infer that a-vu is the term for MB, thus agreeing with Lisu a-vû MB. The initial v- tends to obscure the phonetic picture here, but the root is perhaps cognate with Maru vung, Lashi vang-ma MF,FSiH, from *wang. For the analysis of hngə, vide infra. Lolopho has borrowed Chinese terms, viz. a-kyu MB (舅 chiu～kiu), a-ku "aunt" (姑 ku, FSi).

Ahi

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Both Nyi and Ahi parallel Burmese in distinguishing sex of speaker in ySb but not in oSb terms. Ahi shows some interesting discrepancies with Nyi, yet has the Nyi rather than the Lisu pattern.

Ahi Sibling Terms

(a-)vi	oSi	(a-)mu	oB
nö-mo	ySi(ws)	ni-k'ye	yB(ms)
na-mo	ySi(ms)	p'o-mo-zo	yB(ws)

Ahi ni-k'ye apparently belongs with Burmese ńi, Lisu nyi ySb, and this root is also represented by Ulu ni-pa (d'Ollone, no. 19), Ind. Lolo nie-mö ySi (also oSi), and Lolopho nye-ma yB, nye-mo ySi. Nyi ngä-k'e contains the same suffixed element, but ngä must be compared rather with Burmese ngai "small"; cf. ngä "to laugh", Burmese rai; łä "to change", Burmese lai^3; a-vä "left (hand)", Burmese wai^3; vä "to buy", Burmese wai. Nyi has the root *nyi, however, in the combinations nyi-fä "oSi and ySi; oB and yB", nyi mu-nö "oB and ySi; oSi and yB". Similarly, Ahi na-mo ~ na-mo-zo ySi(ms) is from na "small" (Nyi nya), represented also by Chöko a-nya ySi, nya-pa yB, Phupha nya-nö yB (a-nö ySi).

Ahi a-mu ~ a-mö oB (cf. a-pu ~ a-pö gF) points to an original *a-mu, Burmese *a-mui (cf. Kadu a-mu oB), but is perhaps to be connected with Maru mong, Lashi mang oB (the initial m- obscures the phonetic correspondence here). Nyi a-pu oB, is reminiscent of Tib. p'u-bo, Kachin p'u oB, but

Ahi

601 here it must be regarded as a development from the root represented by a-bu gF (on the same tone), i.e. the appearance of these two terms in Nyi does not constitute an argument against the identification of Burmese a-p'ui^3 gF with Tib. p'a-bo, Kachin p'u oB. Nyi a-ža oSi has probably been developed from a root *a-ya M, while Ahi a-vi oSi (a-vi p'o-mo "Si and B") is connected with the Southern Lolo root *wi oB. Nyi has retained this root only in the combination vi-ngä "oB and yB", and Lolopho in a-vi Bl; note also Lolopho a-yi oB, a-ts'ö oSi, Lisu a-yi, a-tsi, id. Lolopho, the westernmost of the central Lolo bloc, has been influenced by Lisu, and this influence may account for the above terms. The root *wi is further represented by Ulu vyi-mo ~ (na-)vi oB, Ind. Lolo vi-van oB (Madrolle). Chöko and Phupha a-tsi oSi agree with Lisu a-tsi. The Chinese loan-word ko ~ ko-ko, which has already been noted in Lisu, appears also in Chöko, Phupha a-ko, Ulu ko. Ulu has also borrowed the Chinese term 弟 ti yB; note especially ti-ko-ko oB, ti-ko-ti yB (Madrolle).

Both Ahi and Nyi enumerate brothers (but apparently not sisters) after the fashion of aunts and uncles. In Ahi the series is as follows: a-mu bi-ta "1st oB" (bi-ta "big"), a-mu li "2nd oB" (li^1 on same tone as zo-li^1 gS), a-mu co "3rd oB", a-mu ja "4th oB", a-mu na "last oB" (na "small"). Nyi uses a-pu alone for "1st oB", and a- prefixed or -la suffixed forms for the remaining terms, viz. a-ła ~ ła-la

601 "2nd oB" (cf. ʑa-ma gS), a-ka ~ ka-la "3rd oB", a-ja ~ ja-la "4th oB", a-ki ~ ki-la "5th oB". Nyi also has the corresponding series: ngä-k'e "1st yB", ngä-k'e ʑa-la "2nd yB", etc.

Nyi, Lisu p'a-mu, Ahi p'o-mo(-zo) point to an original *p'a-mong; cf. Nyi, Lisu tu, Ahi to "1,000", Burmese a-t'ong; Nyi tu, Lisu du, Ahi to "wing", Burmese a-tong. Nyi nö-ma, Lisu ne-ma, Ahi nö-mo suggests an original *nam-mo; cf. Nyi, Ahi nö-gu, Lisu ne-gu, Burmese nam-rui^3 "ribs" (nam "side of body"); Nyi, Ahi nö, Lisu ne "to smell", Burmese nam^3; Nyi tlö, Ahi t'ö, Lisu bye "to fly", Burmese pyam. The forms thus reconstructed, viz. *p'a-mong and *nam-ma, closely parallel Burmese-Maru *mong yB(ws), Lashi nam-mo ySi(ms), Burmese -hnam, id. (inferred from mong-hnam). The Lisu terms are of uncertain meaning (vide supra), and Ahi appears to have transferred nö-mo from ySi(ms) to ySi(ws), but the Nyi terms are exactly equivalent to the Burmese. Ahi also has the root *nam in isolation, in the form nö ~ nå "girl", used in poetry, in some current expressions (e.g. a-mu nö-mo "brothers and sisters"), and in girls' names, while the same term in Lolopho is said to be used only in songs and as a prefix to girls' names (Liétard, 1913, p. 166). Ahi further has zo-nå ~ a-nå-zo Ch, paralleling Nyi a-nö-zà, Lisu za-ne, id. The Lolo languages are thus seen to throw valuable light on the elusive root *nam ~ *snam, which has been encountered in a variety of meanings.

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601 The Northern Lolo terms for S and D generally parallel Burmese sa^3, sa-mi^3, though the first element may be dropped in the latter term, e.g. Nyi a-mä, Ind. Lolo a-mi ~ a-ma ~ a-mö, Ulu mä. Cf. Nyi za S, Ahi a-zo S, a-mä-zo D, Lolopho zo S, zo-mä D, Chöko za S, za-mi D, Phupha za-za S, za-mi D, Ulu-Hazö za ~ (za-)zu S, Ind. Lolo zö ~ ze S. The gS terms, from Burmese mre^3 < *m-li, usually coincide phonetically with the forms of the word for "4", from Burmese le^3 < *b-li, viz.

	Nyi	Ahi	Lolopho	Ulu	Ind. Lolo
four	χə	li	li	χi	ɓl
gCh	χə	li	li	χi	ɓl

Nyi χe-za, Ahi lye-zo ggS correspond to Lisu lä-za, the phonetic correspondences being regular, viz.

	Burmese	Lisu	Ahi	Nyi
ascend	tak	dä	dye	de
black	nak	nä	nye	ne
leaf	p'ak	p'yä	p'ye	p'e
eye	myak	myä	nye	ne

We can thus safely reconstruct *lak ~ *m-lak ggS, paralleling Burmese mrate < *m-lik.

The collateral terminology is represented by Nyi a-nyi-zá FSiS and a-hngö-zá MBS, which are literally descriptive terms, and a-mä FSiD, MBD, tonally distinct from á-mä D (Vial notes that "entres elles, les jeunes filles s'appelent ami et mon ámi"). Nyi thus agrees with Lisu in distinguishing between parallel and cross cousins. The

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601 descriptive cousin terms in Nyi are tsŏ -ve vi-ngŏ pCe, ts' -ve ma-nŏ pCi; according to Vial, tsŏ -ve signifies that one belongs to the "same degree" (cf. tsŏ "generation", ve "family"). It is not known whether Nyi also distinguishes between pN and xN, since we have only the single term za-tu "nephew". Ahi zo-to Ne can be inferred from zo-to li-zo "grand-nephew", zo-to a-mŏ "grand-niece" (Ahi -o < -u, cf. o "head", Burmese u^3; t'o "thick", Burmese t'u; mo "to do", Burmese mu; ro "mad", Burmese ru^3). The root *tu also appears in Uin (n-)tu Ne, a-ma(n-)tu Ni, ba(n-)tu C (cf. Lisu za,du used for C as well as for Ne), Ind. Lolo za(n-)tu Ne (zŏ ~ za S), Lolopho zo-du Ne, zo-mă-du Ni (d'Ollone, no. 26). For Lolopho, d'Ollone also cites lao-piao C, a Chinese loan-word (老表 lao piao).

The Nyi distinction in Fl terms resembles that of Maru (na < *ni FSi, WM, HM; nyi MB, WF, vung < *wang HF) but is sharper, since WM and HM are differentiated. A-nyi-mo WM and a-hngŏ-mo WF are based on, but not equated with, a-nyi FSi and a-hngŏ MB, the additional element being mo "old", which appears also in a-mo (fem. a-mo-ma) "ancestor" (Phunoi ya mǎng "old man"). The terms žu-ma and žu-p'a, used by a man's wife, contain the characteristic Burmish-Loloish *yok, used as a numerary adjunct for mankind (Nyi žu, Lolopho yo); Nyi, Ahi -u, Lolopho -o correspond to Burmese -ok, as in Nyi žu-ma, Ahi žu-mo "ladle", Burmese yok-ma'; Nyi a-nu, Ahi nu, Lolopho nyo "monkey", Burmese myok;

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601 Nyi k'u, Ahi c'u, Lolopho c'o "6", Burmese k'rok. This root has the specific meaning "male" (vir) in Nlu yo (also used for H), and in Nyi za-žu (mountain dialect). In Lolopho, yo-p'o-zo and yo-mo-mä are defined simply as "Fl" and "Ml", respectively (Liétard, 1913, p. 159), but the corresponding Ahi terms, viz. žu-p'o and žu-mo, are used for WF and WM, i.e. the reverse of the Nyi usage. Yet Ahi žu-p'o is also used in the meaning "paternal ancestor". Liétard also cites a-lye-mo ~ a-lye-mu WM and a-vu-mu Fl, a-vu a-lve-mu "parents-in-law", hence Ahi makes a distinction similar to that found in Nyi (a-vu is perhaps the term for MB, comparable with Lisu a-vü, but the word is not cited in Liétard).

Both Nyi and Ahi have an especial term, viz. a-mi, for oBW, distinct from a-mä D (cf. Phupha mi "woman, wife", za-mi "daughter"). In Nyi, a man equates his sister's husband with his daughter's husband (za-hngə), while in Ahi a man refers to his oSiH as the "son-in-law" (sö-rö) of his oSi (a-vi), or as the "husband" (žö-ca-p'o) of his oSi (a-vi sö-rö ~ a-vi žö-ca-p'o), showing the semantic equivalence of "Sl" and "H" (bridegroom). In Nyi the WoB has the respectful appellation a-pu (oB), but WyB is significantly equated with MBS (a-hngə-zá) (under cross-cousin marriage WyB becomes MBS,ys). After the birth of the first child, however, the husband adopts the teknonymous term k'a-hngə WyB, from k'ə a-hngə "his MB". Teknonymous terms can also be applied to Ml and Fl, viz. a-ma M and

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601 a-ba F. In Lolopho a husband is addressed by his wife as a-po-ma (apparently from *pa F), and the wife is addressed by her husband as a-pi-ma (apparently from *p'i gM), but the descriptive term for a married couple is ni mä-yo, lit. "two wife-husband". The k'ə- prefix noted above may explain some or all the prefixed k'a- forms found in Burmese and Southern Lolo, e.g. Burmese yok-k'ǎ-ma' Pl, but the point cannot be demonstrated with the available material. Both Nyi za-mä-łe and Ahi zo-mä-lye Dl are descriptive terms formed with the term for "wife" (Nyi mä-łe, Ahi mä-lye). In both languages, furthermore, the final element is gCh (Nyi łe, Ahi lye), used here as a diminutive. In Ahi, at any rate, this final element is not an essential part of the word and is dropped in phrases, e.g. k'ə mä "his wife", to be contrasted with k'á-mä < k'ə á-mä "his daughter". Nyi equates WSi with FSiD,MBD in the term a-mä (distinct from á-mä D), just as it equates WyB with MBS (a-hngə-sá).

The descriptive term for WB,SiH in Nyi is hngə-sa, in which hngə is said by Vial to refer to WB, and sa to SiH. The element hngə thus refers to MB and WB, or, under cross-cousin marriage, to WF and WB. On the phonetic side, initial hng- stands for ng- before the mixed vowel ə, and, like the latter, represents initial r-; cf. the following series, in which Ahi shows the retention of r-: Nyi ngiä, Ahi re, Burmese rai "to laugh"; Nyi ngə, Ahi ro, Burmese ra' "to obtain"; Nyi hngə(-pu), Ahi rö, Burmese a-rui^{3} "bone";

601 Nyi hngə, Ahi rö, Burmese re "to count"; Nyi hngə, Ahi rö, Burmese rit "to cut". Nyi -ə, Ahi -ö are the regular correspondences for Burmese -ui; cf. Nyi k , Ahi kö, Burmese kui^3 "9"; Nyi k'ə, Ahi k'ö, Burmese k'ui^3 "to steal; Nyi ngə, Ahi ngö, Burmese ngui "to weep"; Nyi ts'ə, Ahi ts'ö, Burmese k'yui "to bathe". Nyi sa-hngə is thus directly comparable with Ahi sö-rö ~ sö-ngö Sl and with the first element of Ahi rö-ni HoB. The sa- element of Nyi appears to be identical with the sa- of Lisu sa-za, sa-ma (xHo,xHi), but Ahi sö- is perhaps distinct (it is on the same tone as sö^4 "blood", from Burmese swe^3, but Nyi has sə, and Lisu has si). Lisu a-wo FB can be connected with the hypothetical Burmese *rui reconstructed from Nyi hngə, Ahi rö; cf. the parallel series furnished by "bone", viz.

	Burmese	Lisu	Ahi	Nyi
bone	a-rui^3	wo(-to)	rö	hngə(-pu)
	*rui	a-wo (FB)	rö (Sl)	hngə (Sl,MB).

The Tibeto-Burman original for this root would be *ru, which leads to Tib. sru-mo MSi, Kanauri ru Fl (< MB), and Pyu sru "relatives" (< "mother's relatives").

Ahi kö-pu-li ySiH is an unusually interesting term, combining as it does (a-)pu gF and (zo-)li gS with a new element kö-. For pu-li, cf. the Lisu collective term pi-li "grandparent and grandchild". Kö- is isolated in Ahi, but may represent the root *kui < *ku found in Burmese ats-kui oB, Akha a-kö B (for the vocalism, vide supra).

Lisu
Moso

601 [101 197] There remains for consideration only the language of the Moso (Nakhi) of western Yunnan, which differs rather widely from the Northern Lolo languages just discussed. Only a few Moso terms, all badly recorded, are known; these have been taken from the works of Bacot, Rock, and Madrolle (by Monbeig) (note that in Madrolle the Moso and Kutsong = Tibetan lists have been accidentally reversed on pp. 564-65). The following terms are of Lolo type: a-ba F; a-mä ~ mä .. (also mi "female", in Rock); a-p'u gF (but a-tsö gM); a-bu oB (Nyi a-pu); zo S, mi ~ mi-zo D (also zu Ch, in Bacot). Note Moso a-p'u gF, a-bu oB, but Nyi a-bu gF, a-pu oB. The Sb terms are generally distinct from those in Lolo; Madrolle cites gö-zö yB, me-me oSi, ku-me ySi. Of primary importance, however, is the term a-gu Bl (Bacot), cognate with Ahi kö-pu-li ySiH, Akha a-kö B, and Burmese ats-kui oB; cf. Moso gu "9", Burmese kui^3; Moso k'u "to steal", Burmese $k'ui^3$; Moso hngu "to weep", Burmese ŋgui.

Despite the extent of literature on the Lolo, almost no material bearing on our problem can be found. Ahi and Nyi, which linguistically are fairly well known, are ethnographic blanks. Cross-cousin marriage can be established only for the Lisu, and even here the source is linguistic (Fraser) rather than ethnographic (Rose and Brown). Fraser's remarks in this connection are worth quoting in extenso, since the work is rare:

> Sometimes an exchange will be made between two families, a man giving his daughter to another's son in exchange for the latter's daughter for his own son; this arrangement

Lisu

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> cancels the bridal prices and none is given by either party. In most cases a Lisu will require the same sum of money for his daughter that he himself gave for his wife, the mother. This is often tantamount to an exchange, for the custom in most districts is that the girl, or at any rate one girl in the family - be given back in marriage to her mother's people. But she must never be given to a member of her own clan, even if the relationship is too remote to be traced. Indeed if two Lisu families live in widely separated districts between which there is no intercommunication, so that it may be safely inferred that they are not related at all, they must not intermarry if they happen to have the same clan surname. Possibly this custom also is to be put down to Chinese influence, for the Chinese are equally strict in this regard. Yet a Lisu may marry his father's sister's daughter without any thought of inconsistency. E.g. a Lisu Macdonald will give his sister in marriage to a Lisu Macgregor. His son may marry a daughter of the latter marriage, because she is a Macgregor and he a Macdonald. That such a union is undesirable from the standpoint of consanguinity does not occur to him, yet by some peculiar mental kink he would stoutly object to marrying his son to a Miss Macdonald, even though the relationship might be nil, because he and she are both Macdonalds. In some districts certain clans are said to be related to certain other clans, and they are not supposed to intermarry. But there is no arrangement whereby a certain clan is permanent parent-in-law to another clan, as there seems to be among some tribes of Kachins. (p. ix)

Fraser further states (note to p. ix) that "There are cases of Lisu marrying their own father's sisters, but this is rare and looked down upon". In a note to the term sa-ma SiD (p. 65), Fraser observes that "A Lisu can demand her [SiD] in marriage for his son; to refuse to give her means a law-suit and the payment of a fine". We thus have compulsory cross-cousin marriage in combination with occasional marriage to FSi. The latter does not appear to be reflected in the Lisu terminology, but the former is correlated with the sharp distinction drawn between parallel and cross cousins and nephews. A distinction between FSiD and MBD is found only in the Lisu list in Webb, p. xlvii, which has za-du

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601 FBCh, MBCh, MSiCh, but a-pa FSiCh. Under the Lisu system of sister exchange, FSi becomes MBW (a-nyi^{4}, used for both) and hence FSiD is equivalent to MBD, i.e. both collateral lines are merged. Note that despite these marriage practices Lisu lacks categorical equations in the P1 terms, using only the consanguineal terms ma-ma M1, ba-ba F1. It can be inferred that these are used only in address, just as Nyi uses e-ma (= a-ma) and e-ba (= a-ba) in address, but a-nyi-mo WM (a-nyi FoSi), a-hngə-mo WF (a-hngə MoB), žu-ma HM, and žu-p'a HF in description.

Liétard (1913) has given us a lengthy account of the Lolopho, in which an unusual marital pattern is described, but without specific information on marriage regulations. The Lolopho have taken over the Chinese surnames (姓 hsing) but, according to this authority, attach no importance to them in marriage. Patrilineal inheritance of property is mentioned, but no actual clan nor lineage organization is described. The familial situation, which is altogether remarkable, is attributed by Liétard to the practice of child marriage in combination with the recognition only of Chinese marriage laws. A woman normally has a lover, who is the actual father of her children. The legal father and husband of the woman supports the children in the main, and they take his name and inherit his property. The duties of the lover are to make sandals for the woman and her children and to buy clothes for the latter. The terminology used is of some interest. The children address the legal husband as a-bo F (the native term), the lover as ta-tie, a Chinese loan-word (大爹 ta tieh gF, but tieh F). Descriptively, the former is called a-bo mâ "father-nourisher", the latter a-bo k'a "father-true".

A brief description of the Szuchuan (Independent) Lolo by Martin appears in the above source (pp. 31-32). The so-called "family" (kye, from Chinese 家 chia~kia) is described as a patrilineal exogamous sort of tribal unit. A single village often contains two tribes, which may intermarry even though related on the mother's side within the 2nd degree. We can infer that cross-cousin marriage, probably with first as well as with second cousins, occurs among these Szuchuan Lolo.

The organization of the Independent Lolo into the "Black Bone" or noble caste, and "White Bone" or lower caste, has been a perennial source for learned discussions of the Lolo and their origin (usually placed in Centrel Asia or some other conveniently distant place). The terms in general use are Chinese, viz. hei ku-t'ou (黑骨頭)" Black Bone", pai ~ pe ku-t'ou (白骨頭)"White Bone", but the use of "bone" in this connection cannot be explained on the basis of Chinese. On the Tibeto-Burman side, however, we have an obvious explanation in Tibetan rus(-pa) "bone, lineage", Burmese a-rui^3, id. This identification can be traced in Lolo itself, since Nyi uses hngà (cf. hngà-pu " bone") as a numerary adjunct for ve "family", e.g. ve t'i hng "one family", lit. "family one bone", also abbreviated to

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601 t'i hnga "one bone" The Chinese terms hei ku-t'ou and pe ku-t'ou must be regarded simply as translations of native Lolo terms. Insofar as the writer is aware, this obvious explanation has not been suggested by previous writers in the field.

The custom whereby the bride returns for a visit to her parent's home, already observed among the Southern Lolo, is also in evidence among their northern neighbors. Among the Lolopho (Liétard, 1913, pp. 152 and sq.), the bride is carried to the groom's home by her elder sister, and remains there for from two to four days, in the company of her elder sister. The couple then pass several days with the bride's parents, after which the bride returns to her husband's home to stay. Madrolle (p. 539) records a similar custom for the Eul-yi-tseu (= Ulu), but states that this is now disappearing in the face of Chinese influence. Here the couple remain three days with the family of the groom, then return to the bride's home, where the groom remains only overnight but the bride lingers for from eight to ten days before rejoining her husband.

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Chang

10. Konyak

101 197 The route followed during the last two sections, through Nung, Burmese, and the Lolo languages, may be considered a 'dead-end' street leading away from Kachin, the nexus of the Tibeto-Burman group. The second main route from Kachin takes us across the Patkoi Range into northern Assam and thence down the Brahmaputra valley to the Garo Hills. The little known transitional area is occupied by the Konyak tribes, often referred to as the "Naked Naga". In the LSI they are classified as "Eastern Naga", and in general are regarded as a variety of Naga. Closer examination of the extant material, however, has revealed that linguistically they are quite distinct from the typical Naga (Ao, Angami, Sema, etc.) and affiliated rather with the Kachin on one hand, the Garo and Bodo on the other. It is for this reason that they have been discussed in this section, apart from the Naga section.

197 Our material on the Konyak, both linguistic and ethnographic, is fragmentary and superficial. The only ethnographic study of any merit is that by Fürer-Haimendorf (1938), who has also written a popular account (1939). Hutton (1921, App. III, pt. 4) has given us a hasty survey of the Konyak tribes on the Assam side of the Patkoi range, and a more detailed account of the Chang (ibid., pp. 376-82), while Mills has made a few observations on the same groups. The trans-Patkoi tribes of Upper Burma have been described by T. P. Dewar, who has made an attempt to classify them.

Chang

197 The Konyak of the Naga Hills District and the adjoining area are conventionally divided into two groups, viz. the Thendu and the Thenkoh (Tamlu terms, as is also the term Konyak). These terms refer to the face tattoo of the Thendu men, and the lack of it among the Thenkoh men, who tattoo only their chest and arms. The native chiefs (ang) wield great power among the Thendu, whereas they are mere figureheads among the Thenkoh. The division is not absolute, since Fürer-Haimendorf cites two tribes (Tanhai, Punkhung) who are Thendu in speech and custom and yet do not tattoo the face. The same author states that the division is linguistic as well as ethnographic, but the fragmentary nature of our material does not permit of a check on this. Hutton notes (p. 385) that a Thendu tribe and a Thenkoh tribe may live side by side in the same village. Fürer-Haimendorf is unable to confirm this observation, but does state that there is little intermarriage between the two divisions. Of whatever local value this distinction may be, it is certainly not valid for the Konyak as a whole, and is of no utility in our present investigation.

For only one Konyak language do we possess even approximately adequate material, viz. Chang, the subject of an especial study by Hutton (1929), who had listed the kinship terms in an earlier paper (1922). Unfortunately Chang, which is spoken just east of the Dikhu across from Ao territory, is not typical of the Konyak group, since the

Chang

197 Chang have come under the influence of their Naga neighbors to the west and south. Similarly, the Moshang and Shangge languages recorded by Needham show strong Kachin influence (they are trans-Patkoi tribes under Kachin political domination). Of the more typical Konyak languages, we have material on Banpara (Brown, Peal), Namsang (Robinson, Brown, Butler), Tableng (Brown, LSI), Mutom (Brown), Mulung (Brown), 601 and Tamlu (LSI). Only the Chang terminology is sufficiently well known to be tabulated.

Chang Consanguineal Terms

(a-)pi gP

(a-)nyu M,MSi,FBW — (a-)po F,FB,MSiH

(a-)nyi FSi,MBW — (a-)ko MB,FSiH

(a-)no oSi,pC — (a-)jei oB,pC

(a-)ma ySb,pC

nyǎng-san xCi — nyǎng-i xCe

šo-man-nyu BD(ms) — šo-man-po BS(ms)

šo Ch,SiCh(ws)

li xN

ši gCh

Chang Affinal Terms

(a-)nyi WM,HM — (a-)ko WF,HF

yak W — lam H

han-nyi Sil(ws) — han-po Bl(ms)

han-nyu WSi

pe-nyu 'Sil(ms) — pe-po Bl(ws)

(a-)nyǎng Bil(ws)

li Dl,Sl,WBCh

šo WSiCh

Chang

601 Notes:

The appearance of a neuter term (a-pi) for gP is worthy of attention. The root is evidently cognate with Burmese a-p'e^{3} ggF, Tib. ʼa-p'yi gM (aspiration is regularly dropped in Chang; cf. a-po F, a-ko MB). A-pi is the term employed in address; descriptively, pi-mai (mai "true") is used in the restricted sense for the actual gP, pi in the extended sense. The distinction between gM and gF is handled differently for the paternal and maternal lines, viz. po-šo-pi FF and yak-sa-pi FM (with po-šo ~ po-su "male", yak-sa "woman"), but nyu-bu-po MF ("mother-of father") and nyu-bu-nyu MM "mother-of mother") (the latter form is inferred from the account in Hutton, p. 51). Thus unusual type of construction has been encountered only once before (Johar, in the Almora group, ma-pa MF).

Most of the Konyak languages show the roots *nu M, *pa F; cf. Banpara, Muton, Tableng a-pa, Mulung o-pa, Tamlu pa F, and Banpara a-nu, Muten an-nu, Mulung o-nu, Moshang nyu M. The presence of the root *nu affords a direct link with Kachin, as well as with the Kuki languages to the south. Moshang and Namsang wa ~ va F appear to have been influenced by Kachin wa. The seemingly aberrant Namsang i-nyong M (cf. i-va F, i-p'o oB, i-na yB) has been developed from *nyong (used as a fem. suffix) < *nyung < *nyu, through secondary nasalization produced by the nasal initial; for -eng < -ung, cf. Namsang long "stone", TB *lung; Namsang tong "to sit", TB *tung; Namsang pong "air, wind", TB *pung.

Chang

601 A separate root *ya is found, however, in Tableng ni-ya M (cf. ni-ye B), matching the fem. suffix -ya (kui-ya "bitch", mahu a-ya "cow"); cf. the Almora root *ya M.

Chang a-po F belongs in a phonetic series showing alternation with -ou and -au, involving TB roots in final -a, e.g. nou "ear", TB *na; ngau "fish", TB *ngya; ngau "5", TB *nga; hau "tooth", TB *ha; kau ~ gau "earth", TB *ka; šau ~ sau "to eat", TB *dza. Hutton writes a-po or a-pou F, a-ko or a-kou MB, a-no or a-nou oSi, and šo or šou Ch, which would theoretically yield the roots *pa F, *ka MB, *na oSi, and *sa Ch (cf. sau < *dza "to eat"). Since a-nyi FSi (Banpara a-ni-eum "aunt") agrees with the general TB root (Tib. ʼa-ne, Kachin ni) one would anticipate a derivation a-ko < a-ku ~ a-k'u MB. Chang appears to retain TB final -u, however, as in guh "9", Tib. dgu, hence we must postulate either a separate root (*ka) or an analogical phonetic development based on a-po ~ a-pou F. Comparative material from other Konyak languages that might clarify this point is lacking (Namsang di-di "uncle" is of no help).

Chang a-no oSi and a-na ySb agree with Kachin na and nau, respectively, while the affiliations of a-jei oB are uncertain. For the development a-no < *na, vide supra; cf. Banpara a-na, Namsang i-ngya < *i-na oSi. Chang -a < -au is the exact reverse of -au ~ -ou < -a (supra); it is attested also by ha(-bu) "fat", TB *sau (h- < s-, vide infra). This root is well represented in Konyak; cf. Hutton nau-cong-pa yB (cf. tai-cong-pa oB), nau-sa "boy".

601 (probably for ySi), nau-tak "boy", Tableng nau-i-pa yB (Brown), Banpara kă-nau yB,ySi, nau-sa "boy"; Namsang i-na yB, na-ta "boy", Moshang i-no yB, no-yã Ch (able to walk), no-šã "baby". A-jei oB, also pronounced jai, compares with ch- and t- initial forms elsewhere in Konyak, but the latter may be cognate rather with Chang mă-tei "lass, lad". Note the following forms: Tableng a-cei oB, o-ca-cei oSi (Brown), Mulung cei oB, and Banpara a-tai oB, Muton tai-cong-pa oB (cf. nau-cong-pa yB). Comparisons can be made with Tib. 'a-c'e oSi and Kanauri a-te oB, both of which indicate TB roots in final -ei. Moshang i-p'u, Namsang i-p'o oB appear to have been borrowed from Kachin p'u, id. (cf. Moshang and Namsang wa ~ va, Kachin wa F). Distinctions in sex of speaker for sibling terms have not been recorded. Moshang, however, has a feminine suffix -šarr (e.g. ke-šarr "female goat") which seems to be connected with Kachin jan <*jar, Lushei (Kuki group) far <*dzar Si(ms); cf. Moshang rong-šarr "sun" (rong "sky"), Kachin jan, id.

The root *za Ch, represented in Chang by šo ~ šou, appears in all the Konyak languages, viz. Banpara kă-sa S, nau-sa " boy", Muton ko-sa S, nau-sa "boy", Mulung he-lom S, Tableng na-ha "boy", a-ha D, ta-ha S, Tamlu ha-ši Ch, pa-ha-ha S, ngu-ha-ha D, Namsang sa S, de-hiek sa D, Moshang šã S, no-šã "baby", ya-šik šã D. The form ha, found in Mulung, Tableng, and Tamlu, shows the h- < s-, z- shift which is typical of Konyak phonology in general; cf. Mulung,

Chang

601 Tableng, Tamlu ha "to eat", TB *dza; Mulung tik-ha, Tableng tik-ha-tua "ant", Banpara tik-sa; Mulung, Tableng hum "salt", Banpara sum. In Chang itself initial h- has been developed from original surd sibilants and affricates; cf. hai ~ hei "to die", Kachin si; ha(-bu) "fat", Kachin sau; hak "life, breath", Burmese a-sak, Kachin sa <*sak; hek " louse", Tib. šig, Kachin tsi *tsik; hau "nerve, tendon, vein", Tib. rtsa, Kachin lă-sa < *ră-sa; hăp "nest", Kachin tsip. Ši gCh is comparable with Kachin šu ma-ši ggCh (šu gCh), and cf. Tamlu ha-ši < *ša-ši Ch.

Fürer-Haimendorf (texts on pp. 359-60, 74, 78) cites the following terms from the language spoken at Wakching (Thenkoh): e-nau yB, e-cei oB, a-ha S, ou-hu ~ e-hu gS. These terms are of Mulung-Tableng type, and show the same h- < s- shift. The term e-hu gS can thus be regarded as a direct cognate of Kachin šu, id.

The parallel and cross collateral lines are sharply distinguished with the use of the two primary terms nyăng xC and li xN. The descriptive terms for the former are nyăng-i-po xCe, nyăng-sau-nyu xCi. Hutton also cites a term nyăng-e "a form of address between persons of two classes which can intermarry", and the vocative form a-nyăng "cousin" appears in the Chang text on p. 47. Nyăng must be regarded as cognate with Kachin ning xCi(ws), Sil(ws). Chang regularly has medial ă for original i and u, thus paralleling the Lepcha development: cf. hăp "nest", TB *tsip; căm " house", TB *k'yim; lăm "to smell", TB *rim (initial r-

Chang

601 is lacking in Chang), săn "liver", TB *m-sin; lăk "6", TB *d-rug; săm "3", TB *g-sum; mŭt "to blow", TB *mut; lŭm "heat", TB *lum. Chang li xN is etymologically associated with li(-bu) "ripe", li-la "seed", thus nicely fitting into the series Burmese mre^3 < *m-li, Nung p'a-li < *m-li gCh, Kachin ma-li "young man", Kachin li, Abor a-li "seed", Lepcha li(-m) "to be ripe", a-li "seed" (see the discussion under Nung, pt. 8). For the transference from gCh to xN, cf. Kuki *tu xN,gCh (infra), Burmese tu xN.

The affinal terminology presents three basic categorical equations in the terms a-nyi, a-ko, and li. Chang li Dl,Sl marks the first occurrence of a neuter term for this affinal relationship. Another categorical equation is found in a-nyăng, one of the alternative terms for Sil(ws), agreeing with the cognate Kachin ning, id. When the Sil is much older than the (female) speaker, she is addressed as a-mo (oSi). The remaining Sbl terms are of teknonymous origin. Thus, hau-ko is "his (hau) MB", i.e. WB; hau-nyi is "his FSi", i.e. HSi; hau-nyu is "his H or MSi", i.e. WSi. Pe-nyu and pe-po, the terms for Sbl(ds), are clearly of similar origin, though the element pe- cannot be analyzed; it is perhaps cognate with Banpara a-p'e D (Peal), Muton a-p'e oSi, and cf. Burmese a-pai "madam", Maru pai, Lashi pe oSi.

Chang lau H is a variant of -le, a masculine suffix, from TB *la; cf. Tableng kui-la "male dog", Moshang gui-hŭ la "male dog", Namsang de-la H (cf. de-hiek "woman"). Chang yak W, yak-sa "woman", though written without a short mark,

Chang

601 has perhaps been developed from a root with final -ik; cf. Moshang ya-šik ~ yal-šik "woman", Namsang de-hiek "woman", and the Garo-Bodo root *jik "female" (vide pt. 11). Moshang has another pair of sex-suffixes, viz. -pi (fem.) and -pang (masc.), the latter found also in Tableng and Namsang (pong), Tamlu (bong), Banpara (pang), and Moshang (pung).

Our information on the Chang (Mills, Hutton) is not very full. Hutton (1929, p. 50) gives the following account:

> The Chang Nagas are as at present constituted, an exogamous and stoutly patrilineal tribe, and are of mixed origin. They prohibit marriage between a man and his immediate relations on his mother's side, though this prohibition seems to be in the process of breaking down, as such unions nowadays take place in spite of the disapproval of the older generation. The tribe is composed of a number of different clans each of which claims descent from a common ancestor. Property passes through the male line, and women cannot ordinarily inherit at all.

Hutton (1921, p. 379) names five exogamous clans, but gives no additional details. The existence of cross-cousin marriage is indicated by the statement cited above, but in view of the Chang terminology this practice must be regarded as ancient rather than as new. The categorical equations in a-nyi FSi,MBW,Mi, a-ko MB,FSiH,Fi and li xH,Di,Si, along with sharp distinction drawn between the parallel and cross collateral lines, reflect cross-cousin marriage almost as clearly as any Tibeto-Burman terminology elsewhere.

Cousin marriage of Kachin type can be inferred for the trans-Patkoi tribes, on the basis of the following statement by Dewar (p. 274):

Chang

601 The Nagas marry with certain recognised families, thus reviving every second or third generation connection by marriage originally established by their ancestors, any breaking-away from this custom leading to a debt case with the family from whom the bride should have been asked.

On p. 279 Dewar cites the expression *k'ao* *wing* *k'ao* *wang* *k'ao* *ting* *k'ao* *sang* (unanalyzed) in use among the Pyengoo, said to denote "close connectionship in their tribes through inter-marriage". Dewar further notes the custom of matrilocal residence among the Rasa, a tribe of the Haimi group (p. 282).

Fürer-Haimendorf has contributed a fairly full account of the *morung* (men's house) institution among the Konyak in the Naga Hills District, with especial reference to Wakching, a Thenkoh village. A single village may have as many as 11 *morung* (Wakching has 5 *morung*, or *ban*), which may or may not constitute exogamous units. Among the Thendu, who have a highly developed *ang* chieftainship, a type of class exogamy is practised, e.g. in Oting an *Ang* man must marry a *Ben* (commoner) girl of his own village or an *Ang* girl of another village. Of the five *morung* of Wakching, four are exogamous while the fifth *morung*, that of the Ang, which was founded much later than the other four, can intermarry with any of the others. The Oukheang *morung* and its offshoot, the Thepong, constitute an exogamous unit as opposed to the Balang *morung* and its offshoot, the Bala. Each *morung* includes several clans, which are likewise exogamous. A single clan may be found in two or more *Morung*,

Chang

601 but none is common to the two original *morung* (Oukheang and Balang). The Ang or ruling clan is outside the system just described, since the Ang are endogamous though not within the same village. Mills refers to this as a "unique example of endogamy in a Naga clan" (p. 145). The Oukheang and Balang *morung* tend to intermarry, as do the Thepong and Bala *morung*, which are offshoots of the former pair. These reciprocal relationships are also in evidence in other cultural features, e.g. the Balang men build the *yo* (girl's dormitory) of the Oukheang girls, and the Balang girls are obliged to take part in the funeral ceremonies for an Oukheang man.

The system described above may be regarded as a dual organization, with some tendencies to develop into a four-class system, on which a political chieftainship (*ang*) has been superimposed. In view of the fact that the Chang are "stoutly patrilineal" (Hutton) we can assume that descent in both the *morung* and the clans is reckoned in the male line, though the matter is not discussed in our sources. One might expect to find cross-cousin marriage in this system of reciprocally related *morung*, but here again our sources are of no avail, and we know nothing of the affinal terminology of the groups described by Fürer-Haimendorf. The appearance of exogamous moieties in this transitional Konyak group is worth noting, however, since the dual organization is found in a number of groups in Assam and Burma (see pt. 11).

113

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[1] [For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, ALI Southeast Asia
ALI -- Analyst]

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11. Garo and Bodo

Garo and Bodo are the two principal languages of the Barish stock of Tibeto-Burman. The Barish languages, spoken in the Brahmaputra valley in Assam, are the southwesternmost members of the family, with Aka, Abor-Miri, and Dafla on the north, Konyak on the northeast, and the Kuki languages on the east and southeast. The Indic-speaking Assamese have displaced the earlier Tibeto-Burman population in the plains and disrupted what was undoubtedly at one time a fairly continuous Barish distribution throughout the valley. Mikir, which belongs with the Kuki languages in the supergroup Kukic, stands as an island in the northern sector of the Barish area. Khasi, an Austroasiatic language spoken in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills east of the Garo Hills, is a second intrusive element in this area.

Barish stands closer to Konyak and Kachin than to the Kuki and Naga languages which border it on the east. This affinity for Kachin is especially notable in the lexical elements of the kinship terminology presented below. The Barish stock itself is a well-knit unit with two big divisions, viz. Garo and Bodo. The Garo, in the Garo Hills south of the Brahmaputra, appear to represent the earliest wave of immigrants into this valley area (vide infra). The remaining Barish languages (Bodo, Dimasa, Lalung, Moran, Tipura, Deori Chutiya) are quite distinct and seem to have been derived from an ancestral speech (Bodo-Dimasa) already

Garo AR5
Bodo

K
101 differentiated from Garo. The Bodo (Boro, Bara) proper are
197 found north and west of the Brahmaputra, while Dimasa and
G the closely related Lalung and Moran are spoken east of this
101 river. Tipura, spoken far to the south in the Tipperah Hills
197 District and Chittagong Hills Tracts, must be regarded as a kind of advance-guard of this group. In general, this Bodo-Dimasa (Kachari) group represents a second wave of Barish peoples moving down the Brahmaputra valley in the wake of the Garo. Deori Chutiya, spoken in the Lakhimpur and Sibsagar Districts, is the northeasternmost of the Barish languages and can be classified as a sub-type of Bodo-Dimasa, showing extensive phonetic modification.

K
Our sources on the Barish languages are fairly numerous
601 but of uniformly poor quality. Material on the Bodo-Dimasa
G terminology, which will be treated as a unit in contrast to
601 the Garo terminology, has been extracted from the following: Bodo (Hodgson, Robinson, Endle, Skrefsrud), Dimasa (Stewart, Butler, Dundas), Lalung (LSI), Moran (Gurdon), Tipura (Endle, LSI), Deori Chutiya (H. Brown, W. Brown, LSI). The termin-
K
ology given below is that of Bodo proper, the best known of
601 these languages.

23: Benedict E-5 (no date) 1941 ALL Southeast Asia
Kachari AR6
Bodo

601

Bodo Consanguineal Terms

(a-)boi	gM			(a-)bou	gF
ai (bi-)ma	M			(a-)p'a	F
ma-yong	MoSi,FoBW			(a-)yong	FoB,MoBW
ma-doi	MySi,FyBW			(a-)doi	FyB,MySiH
(a-)noi	FSi,MBW			(a-)mai	MB,FSiH
(a-)bo	oSi			(a-)da	oB
(bi-)ma nau	ySi	a-goi	ySb	p'ong-bai	yB
(bi-)šu hinjau ša	D			(bi-)ša howa ša	S
		(bi-)šou	gCh		

Notes:

The kinship terms in Bodo and the other Barish languages show a full set of prefixes corresponding to those in Kachin, viz. a-, nang- ~ nam- ~ na- ("thy"), and bi- ("his"). The bi- prefix appears under a variety of forms (p'i-, pi-, fi-), and in Dimasa reflects the feeling for vocalic harmony that has been developed in that language, e.g. ba-sa S, bu-su D, bi-di FyB, be-de MB.

Two of the most prominent vocalic shifts in Bodo are found in the gP terms, viz. a-bou < *bu gF, a-boi < *bi gM. Bodo has developed -ou (-au) ~ -o from final -u, and -oi from final -i, as shown in the following tables:

Bodo

601

	Kachin	Garo	Bodo	Dimasa	Deori
nine	jă-k'u	s-ku	s-ku	su-gu	d-gu
snake	lă-pu	ci-p'u	ji-bou ji-bo	ju-bu	du-bu
water	mă-di*	ci	doi	di	ji
sweet	dă-wi dwi	ci	ga-doi	gi-di	ji
die	si	si	t'oi	t'i	ci

*Note: Kachin mă-di "wet", but Nung t'i "water".

Gurdon cites a-bau (= a-bou) as a reciprocal term for gF, gCh, and for Moran cites a-lu as a similar reciprocal term (Moran a-le gM), but Hodgson gives separate terms for gF and gCh. Gurdon gives a single term, dai-dai (cf. da-da oB), for gF, gM in Dimasa, but this likewise cannot be supported from other sources. The reduplication, however, is typical of Dimasa; cf. Dimasa ba-ba F, ma-ma M, da-da oB, bi-bi oSi (Stewart). In other Dimasa sources we find a-ju gF, agreeing with Garo at-cu, and a-bi gM (Butler), agreeing with Bodo a-boi < *bi. The Bodo-Dimasa roots *bu gF and *bi gM parallel Burmese-Lolo *p'u gF, *p'i gM and are quite distinct from the Kachin terms ji gF, woi gM.

The term a-p'a ~ a-pa ~ a-fa ~ a-ba F is common to all the Bodo-Dimasa languages. Deori distinguishes between ci-pa F (2nd and 3rd persons) and ba-ba (1st and 2nd persons), the latter also used as a vocative. Ai M, found only in Bodo and Moran, has been tabulated as an (underlined) loan-word, from Assamese ai. Hodgson cites a-ya rather than ai,

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and ai is used for a-ma in the 1st person, contrasting with bi-ma used in the 3rd person (vide the LSI), paralleling a-fa F (1st person), bi-fa (3rd person) (LSI). It would seem, therefore, that this Assamese loan-word ai has been analyzed a-i and equated with native terms with prefixed a-. Dimasa, Lalung, and Tipura, which have been much less influenced by Assamese, have only the native term a-ma ~ bo-ma. Deori has both ci-ma (cf. ci-pa F) and yo-yo (W. Brown), go-yo (LSI).

The PSb terms show so much variation from source to source that one must resort to a certain amount of reconstruction, as has been done in the table given above. Thus, Skrefsrud cites a-yong both as oA and oU, but Hodgson restricts the meaning to FB, and Robinson gives simply U. On the other hand, Skrefsrud cites bi-ma-yong both as FoB and MoSi, but in view of the feminine prefix (bi-ma) this term can hardly mean other than MoSi. Gurdon cites ai-yang (= ai-yong) FoSi, MoSi, where the same affixed element is combined with ai rather than ma M. The hypothetical combined term *pa-yong FoB has not been recorded for Bodo, but in Deori we find ma-yung A, pa-yung U. Finally, Dimasa has mai-yung MySi (also FoSi, MoSi in Gurdon), apparently for *ma-yung. The corresponding affixed element is -di ~ -doi, which appears in the following: Bodo a-doi FyB, also (nam-)p'-t'oi (for *p'a-t'oi), ma-doi MySi, bi-ma-doi MSi, FBW (Robinson has a-dei MSi parelleling a-nei FSi, and Gurdon has a-de MySi paralleling a-ne FySi); Moran ma-di FBW (= MSi); Dimasa bi-di FyB, ma-di UW, FySi.

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601 The above material indicates that the MSi and FB terms are types of extensions from the M and F terms, with an element *yung used for the oSb of P, and *di used for ySb of P. In Dimasa yung is used as a magnitive suffix, e.g. mi-yung "elephant" < "large animal" (Garo mong < *m-yong), dau-yung "the greater horn-bill" < "large bird", and this would seem to explain the kinship term -yung. Yet Dimasa mai-yung seems to mean MySi rather than MoSi, and this element also appears in the term bu-p'i-yung yB (Dundas), bu-fai-yung (Gurdon), boi-fiang (LSI), pu-fuang (Hojai dialect, in LSI), Tipura no-faung (LSI, text on p. 115), whence Bodo p'ong-bai yB, formed with the help of the Indic loan-word bhai yB. Dimasa also has the combined terms k'ai p'i-yung "relative", k'ai p'i-yung t'u "brothers born of the same mother", where k'ai must be understood as referring to oB (Assamese kakai oB). Here -yung seems to be cognate with Kachin yung B(ws). Bodo-Dimasa *di is both phonetically and semantically close to Kachin doi, Burmese t'we^3. Kachin ša-doi, Burmese sa^3-t'we^3 "youngest son" are matched by Bodo un-doi "a babe, little" (Skrefsrud), u-dui (= u-doi) "to be young" (Anderson, in LSI), Dimasa gi-di "younger child".

Bodo a-noi FSi (Robinson a-noi), na-ma-noi MBW represent the regular TB root *ni ~ *ne. Gurdon gives a-ne FySi, but ai-yang (= ai-yong) FoSi (= MoSi), and similarly for Moran cites ma-ni FySi but barai FoSi (= MoSi), a loan-word

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601 from Assamese bar ai FoBW. Bodo a-mai MB,FSiH is a fully naturalized borrowing from Assamese mamai, id. Assamese characteristically has final -ai for Indic -a in its kinship terms; cf. also bopai F, dadai FyB, kakai oB, and these -ai forms are faithfully reflected in the Barish loan-words. Dimasa has a native term, viz. be-de MB, apparently connected with de-de FySi (Gurdon). Final -e is relatively rare in Dimasa, and these terms cannot be placed with any assurance.

The Sb terms show a like mixture of native and Assamese elements. Assamese bhai yB is represented by Bodo bahai (= bhai) "brother, friend", p'ong-bai < *p'i-yong-bai (vide supra) yB, and Moran bhai yB; Assamese bai oSi by Bodo bai, id. (Robinson); and Assamese kakai oB by Moran a-kai, id. (cf. a-mai < mamai MB), Dimasa k'ai p'i-yung "relative" < "oB and yB" (vide supra). The last example is somewhat doubtful, in view of the general scarcity of Assamese loan-words in Dimasa. Deori gogoi B (Sibsagar dialect) may also belong with Assamese kakai. Bodo a-bo oSi, cited only by Skrefsrud, cannot be placed, since the regular root is *bi, as in Moran â-bi, Dimasa bi-bi oSi, Deori (Lakhimpur dialect) ci-bi Si (cf. *bi gM). Bi-ma nau ySi contains the TB root *nau ySb and is formed with the feminine affix bi-ma < ma M; the alternative forms bi-na nau, nang-na nau (Lalung na-nau) appear to have arisen through assimilation to the initial n- of the root. The root *nau does not appear in any other Barish kinship terms, having been displaced in

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60! the original meaning "ySb" by Bodo a-goi (< *gi). The other languages of this group appear to lack any neuter term for ySb, but it must be remembered that our record of them is not complete. The root *da oB (Dimasa da-da), like *bi oSi, shows a connection with a gP term (cf. Tibetan, Tsangla, Abor-Miri). Dimasa has distinct terms both for yB (a-jang) and for ySi (ba-han-dau). The former seems to be entirely isolated in Barish and neighboring groups, and can be compared only with Tib. 'a-žang MB. Initial ž- is lacking in Dimasa and might well be represented by j-; cf. Dimasa k'a-jä "to be happy, merry", Tib. gža-ba "to sport, play", ga-ža ~ ga-gža "a jest, joke, laughter". In view of the extreme rarity of this element, however, the comparison is of no great value. Dimasa ba-han-dau ySi has been derived from *ba-ham-dau through assimilation to the initial d-, and perhaps ultimately from *ba-ham-nau (cf. Bodo bi-ma nau). For ba-ham < *ba-snam, vide the discussion infra of ba-ham-jik Dl.

We have no direct evidence for distinctions of speaker's sex in the Bodo-Dimasa Sb terms. One might suppose that in Bodo bi-ma nau is ySi(ms), p'ong-bai is yB(ws), and a-goi is ySb(ss), but no support for such an interpretation can be gained from the available sources.

Bodo bi-ša S is probably from TB *za rather than *ts'a Ch (surd and sonant initials fluctuate in Barish). This term forms part of the name used by the Bodo for themselves, viz. Bara fi-sa "sons of the Bara", where Bara (=Boro, Bodo) is

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601 connected with Tipura borok "human being". Wolfenden (1929a,b) correctly analyzed the element Bara, but attempted to connect fi-sa directly with Tib. bu-ts'a "son", where the correct interpretation is simply "Bara-his-sons". Sex is distinguished with the aid of the affixed elements howa ~ hiwa "male" jala "male", jau ~ hinjau ~ jo "female", as in howa-ša p'i-ša-howa S, nang-ša-jala "(thy) S", hinjao-ša ~ p'i-ša-hinjao D, nang-ša-jo "(thy) D". The corresponding forms elsewhere are: Moran bi-sa S, bi-sa-ci D; Dimasa sa "diminutive suffix", an-sa Ch, ba-sa "son, nephew, young of animals"; Lalung sa Ch, S, sa-jao D; Tipura ba-sa Ch, ba-sa-la ~ sa-la S, ba-sa-juk ~ sa-juk D; Deori mo-ša Ch, pi-ša S, pi-ša-ci D. Tipura ba-sa-la ~ sa-la S gives a clue to the development of the masculine suffix represented by Bodo ja-la ~ za-la, Dimasa je-la, Garo ca-ra (rare) from TB *la, i.e. the first element of this affix may stand for TB *za Ch. The original form of the feminine suffix can be fixed as *juk or *jik (cf. Moshang, in Konyak group, ya-čik "woman"), since Dimasa shows the typical fluctuation between final -u (Plains dialect) and -ik (Hills dialect), e.g. kaing-a-ju ~ kaing-a-jik "married woman", ba-ham-ju ~ ba-ham-jik Di; ji-ru ~ ji-rik "to call"; ju ~ jik "to kick"; ha-ju ~ ha-jik "hill" (Garo a-cu "hill", but a-cik "hill-men"= Achik, the Garo term for themselves). Bodo bi-šu, Dimasa bu-su (Hojai dialect pu-su), sa-su D appear to be based on this same feminine affix, but the phonetic development is not clear.

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601 Bodo bi-šou gCh, nang-šou-jala "(thy) gS", nang-šou-jo "(thy) gD" is directly cognate with Kachin šu gCh (Bodo -ou <-u, vide supra). Dimasa bu-su-t'ai gCh (Gurdon) contains the same root (su) plus the suffixed element -t'ai "fruit"; cf. Tib. sras Ch (respectful language), Lushei (Kuki group) ra' < *ras "fruit", and Nung, Burmish-Lolo ish *m-li gCh < *li "seed". Dimasa t'ai ~ ba-t'ai "fruit" (< TB *sei) has a number of figurative usages of this type, e.g. long-t'ai "stone" ("fruit of stone"), lum-t'ai "smallpox" ("fruit of fever"), wai-t'ai "embers" ("fruit of fire"), a-bo-t'ai "breast" ("fruit of breast" = "nipple"). Deori also has the root in the form pi-šu gS, pi-šu-ai gD.

The material on collateral terms is so poor that it has not been used in the above table of the Bodo nomenclature. Hodgson cites a-da and a-gai (= a-goi) as terms for "cousin (maternal, paternal)", and Dimasa ba-da is defined as "cousin" as well as "oB", whence we can infer that the Sb terms are extended to include parallel cousins. Skrefsrud cites nam-ba-noi "(thy) SiS", nang-a-noi "(thy) SiD", and nang-a-doi "(thy) oBCh", while Hodgson distinguishes among ba-nai-co (= ba-noi-co) SiS, bi-ya noi SiD, and bi-ya doi BS, BD. Since these are all probably men's terms, it can be inferred that pN and xN are differentiated. There is a hint here of reciprocal terminology, e.g. a-doi FyB and nang-a-doi oBCh are reciprocal kin, but a-noi FSi and nang-a-noi SiD do not fit into this scheme. Perhaps nang-a-noi is used for

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601 BCh(ws) as well as for SiCh(ms), the former showing the reciprocal relationship with a-moi FSi. For Dimasa we have only ba-sa S,Ne (Dundas), bi-ša Ni (Butler), extended terms probably used only for pN. Butler also cites lura Ne, a loan-word from Assamese lora "boy".

The affinal terms have not been listed for Bodo, as our material again is of too poor quality. The few terms that have been recorded are difficult to analyse, with the exception of several Assamese borrowings. The latter include bainai ySiH, boinai WyB < Assamese bhainai ySiH; k'oină W (said by oB to yB) < Assamese ghaini W; šali Sil (used in abuse) < Assamese sali WySi; apparently also beoai oSil,oBl < Assamese bau oBW; šalt'i ~ bi-šalt'i WSiH < Assamese salpati, id. Bajai oBW has every appearance of being a loan-word but its Assamese prototype has not yet been identified. The following are probably of native origin: bi-hau Fl, bi-k'un jo Wl, gu-moi oSiH, WoB (i.e. oBl), bi-B-nang Bl,Sil, bi-ja ma-doi Sl, bi-šai H, and bi-hi W. Bi-hau Fl (Skrefsrud) perhaps stands for *bi-howa ~ *bi-houa, lit. "his male" or "his father" (cf. Kachin wa, etc.). Gu-moi oBl, Moran ku-mi, Dimasa bi-gi-mi, id. appears to be a combined term formed from the elements *gu (Dimasa gi-mi < *gu-mi through vocalic harmony) and *mi; for the former, cf. Moso (Burmish-Loloish) a-gu Bl. Hodgson cites a-p'a Fl (= F), and Deori uses the vocative term ba-ba ~ ba-bi for Fl as well as F. For Dimasa, Gurdon

601 notes a distinction between bi-gi-zi ySiH (=oSiH, WoB, vide supra) and be-bram-lung WyB (unanalyzed); cf. Moran lun-da ySiH. Bodo bi-ja ma doi Sl (Hodgson) is perhaps connected with bi-ya doi BCh (Hodgson), indicating a possible categorical equation Sl = xNe. The corresponding term in Dimasa, viz. ba-ja ma-di, is defined as "Dl" in the Dimasa-English vocabulary of Dundas, but as "Sl" in the English-Dimasa vocabulary; the latter must be accepted as the true meaning, since Dimasa has a distinct term (infra) for Dl. Deori pi-ji ~ a-ji Sl contains the same element doi < *di; cf. Deori ji "water", Bodo doi < *di; Deori ji "sweet", Bodo ga-doi < *ga-di. Finally, Dimasa ba-ham-ju ~ ba-ham-cik Dl contains the element ham < *snam, represented also by Garo nam-cik Dl. The s- prefix form must be reconstructed to account for the h- < n- shift in Dimasa; cf. also Dimasa ham "good", Garo nam, id. For Dimasa ba-ham-jik Dl, ba-ham-dau ySi (supra), cf. Lashi (Maru group of Burmish-Loloish) tu-nam Dl, nam-mo ySi. Deori also has this root in the form ci-na (cf. ci-ma M, ci-pa F). Deori final -a regularly corresponds to Garo and Dimasa -am, e.g. Deori ma-tsa "otter", Garo mat-ram, Dimasa ma-t'am (Tib. sram); Deori li-ba-ji "dew", Garo ri-pam-ci, Dimasa ra-bam-di (-ji ~ -ci ~ -di "water"); Deori su-ta-mi "a fly", Garo tam-pi, Dimasa t'am-pi ~ t'am-su-ma.

The three best established affinal terms can thus be tabulated as follows:

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Garo AR5 .
Kachari AR6
Bodo

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	Bodo	Dimasa	Deori
B1	gu-moi	◆(bi-)gi-ma	-
S1	bi-ja ma-doi	ba-ja ma-di	(pi-)ji
D1		ba-ham-cik	(ci-)na

* * *

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The Garo division of Barish includes two distinct subtypes, which the writer has named Garo A and Garo B. Of the five groups commonly called Garo, viz. Abeng, Achik, Awe, Atong, and Ruga, the first three belong to Garo B (Achik has become the standard Garo dialect and the last two to Garo A. All of these are spoken in the Garo Hills, but Atong and Ruga, of Garo A type, have a somewhat marginal distribution in the southwestern section of the area. The Garo dialect spoken in Jalpaiguri north of the Brahmaputra is also of Garo A type. The remaining Garo A languages are Tintekiya Koch and Rabha, which are spoken in the Garo foothills and the neighboring plains. The distinction made here was recognized in a general way by Playfair (pp. 18-22), but the point has never been elaborated. The evidence for two distinct movements of Garo-speaking peoples into the Garo Hills is unmistakable, with the Garo A peoples representing the older stratum, the Garo B peoples the newer. Both the Koch and Rabha have traditions of having been driven from the Garo Hills, and the Rabha are definitely connected with the Atong (vide Pereira). Despite the scarcity of sources for the Garo A languages, one can establish both

197 phonetic and lexical differences between the two types. Thus, Garo B (Achik) final -l is represented by -n (-ng in Rabha), e.g. Achik sal "sun", Atong rang-san, Ruga ra-san-a, Koch (Tintekiya) ra-šan, Jalpaiguri Garo ra-san, Rabha rang-šang (rang is root for "heaven"); Achik cel-a <*cal "far", Atong jan-a, Ruga jan-o, Koch jan-au, Jalpaiguri Garo pi-jan, Rabha jang-au. Lexical distinctions appear in some of the most common words:

	Achik	Atong	Ruga	Koch	Rabha	J. Garo
dog	a-cak	kai	kui-a	kui	ki	kai
head	sko	dikim	dukum-a	-	dikam	dakam
hair	kni	kau	kau	k'au	k'oro*	hauru*
moon	ja	cangae	ra-rek	na-rek	-	rang-ret

*Note: cf. Dimasa koro "head".

Garo is a language of some political importance and hence has been described by a number of writers, both in English and Assamese. None of the sources examined by the writer, however, is satisfactory from the present point of view. The pretentious work of Bonnerjea is incomplete in the lexicographic sense and misleading in the linguistic sense. Bonnerjea had no first-hand knowledge of the language, yet employed a meticulous phonetic orthography which lends a specious accuracy to the forms cited. A single word is often cited under two or more forms, and in general there is an entire lack of critical acumen. The most complete source for Garo is the English-Garo Dictionary published by the

197 Garo Mission (GM), intended for the use of native Garo pupils. The definitions are all in Garo and this dictionary is therefore difficult to handle, but this source must not be neglected, as Bonnerjea appears to have done. Garo (Achik) word-lists also are found in Williamson and Robinson, and the LSI presents material both for Achik and Abeng (Garo B). No new material is presented in Hodson's article on Garo and Khasi. The sources for Garo A are the following: LSI (Jalpaiguri Garo, Dacca Koch, Atong, Ruga, and, in the text on p. 89, Cooch Behar Garo), Hodgson, 1849 (Garo list; forms agree with those of Jalpaiguri Garo), Williamson (Tintekiya Koch), and Playfair (Appendix F contains lists of Ruga, 601 Rabha, and Tintekiya Koch). In kinship nomenclature the Garo A languages exhibit only minor discrepancies with the Garo B, which is tabulated below.

Garo Consanguineal Terms

(a-)bi	FM			(a-)cu	FF
(am-)bi	MM			(ang-)cu	MF
(a-)ma	M			(a-)p'a	F
(a-)jong	MoSi			p'a-jong	FoB
(a-)di	MySi			(a-)wang	FyB
ma-ni	FSi			mama	MB
(a-)bi	oSi			(a-)da	oB
no	ySi			jong	yB
de-me-cik	D	bi-sa	Ch	de-p'an-te	S
				(ang-)ri	SiS
		su	gCh		

Garo Affinal Terms

ma-ni Ml		a-bu-di Fl
jik W		se H
	bo-ning Sil,Bl	gu-me Bl
		isnek WB
sari HSi		
		sadhu WSiH
nam-cik Dl		nok-rong cowari } Sl

Notes:

Bonnerjea records four gP terms, as listed above, and the GM cites both a-bi and am-bi gM, but the evidence cannot be regarded as altogether convincing. Am-bi can be derived from *ang-bi through assimilation to the initial b- of the root, thus yielding the parallel forms ang-bi "my gM", ang-cu "my gF" (ang "my"), and note also ang-ri "my SiS". The distinction is perhaps of some significance in view of the matrilineal bias of Garo society. Garo a-cu gF corresponds to Dimasa a-ju, but the GM also cites a term bu-de gF, which agrees with Bodo a-bou < *bu. Possible Tibeto-Burman cognates to the root cu ~ ju gF are represented by Lepcha a-tsu "male suffix", and Kachin a-ts'u " disembodied spirit, ghost", Burmese a-ts'u "numerary adjunct for deities".

The Garo A languages ordinarily have a-wa F in place of Garo a-p'a, viz. Koch a-wa (Williamson), Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar Garo a-wa, Atong wa, but Koch (Hodgson) a-ba, 601 Ruga a-ba ~ ba-bea; cf. Kachin wa, and Bodo howa "male". Robinson cites both a-ma and ai for standard Garo (Achik), but this Assamese loan-word (ai) does not appear in other Garo sources.

With the exception of a-wang FyB, the PSb terms are of Bodo-Dimasa type. Garo jong is exactly cognate with Bodo yong, Dimasa yung; cf. Garo jong "insect" (GM), Bodo gu-yong "locust", Dimasa, Deori yung "insect". Note that Garo employs the a- prefix forms for MSi, whereas Bodo employs them for FB, but prefixes ma- in at least one instance (ma-jong "aunt", in GM). Robinson cites a-de MSi, and the GM gives ma-de "aunt" (cf. the discussion of de infra). Robinson also cites am-bi FSi (= MM) rather than the regular term ma-ni. Garo a-oang (= a-wang) FyB (Bonn), a-wang FB (Robinson) appears to be cognate with Nung a-wang FB, but the root is not well represented in Tibeto-Burman. In the Cooch Behar Garo text (LSI, p. 89) we find ei-ti MSi, apparently for *ai-di (Assamese ai M). Garo ma-ni FSi, MBW (Cooch Behar Garo mo-ni MBW) agrees with Moran ma-ni FySi rather than Bodo *a-noi < *ni in having ma M prefixed in combination. Mama MB appears to have been derived from Indic māmā rather than from the specifically Assamese form mamai (Bodo a-mai). Note that the full form has been retained in Garo.

The Garo Sb terms closely agree with those of Bodo-Dimasa, with the neuter term for ySb lacking as in Dimasa. Garo no ySi < TB *nau ySb, as in Bodo-Dimasa; cf. Garo do

601 "bird", Bodo and Dimasa dau; Garo so "to rot", Bodo seau, Dimasa sau; Garo t'o "oil", Bodo and Dimasa t'au (Kachin sau "oil, fat, grease"). The -au vocalism is retained in Tintekiya Koch ja-nau, Cooch Behar Garo ji-nau, Jalpaiguri Garo a-nau, Atong nau Si (probably for ySi). Jong yB is not connected with Dimasa a-jang, id., since Garo has -ang, -eng, and -ing all corresponding to Dimasa -ang, but never -ong. The Dimasa cognate, as shown above, is bu-p'i-yung yB, perhaps the woman's term as contrasted with a-jang, the man's term (sex of speaker is not specified in our Dimasa sources). Kachin yung B(ws) is a likely extra-Barish cognate. Assamese borrowings in the Sb terms are limited to Ruga bai oSi < Assamese bai, id., Dacca Koch boin Si < Assamese bhain ySi, and Tintekiya Koch bhai B < Assamese bhai yB.

The Bodo-Dimasa root sa < *za Ch is represented by Achik bi-sa, Tintekiya Koch sa-sa, Ruga pi-sa, Jalpaiguri Garo, Atong sa Ch. An alternative term, viz. de, appears in Achik and Abeng de Ch, de-p'an-te ~ de-pan-te S, de-me-cik D. The GM cites ma-de "aunt, step-mother", where -de seems to function as a diminutive (cf. Burmese mǎ-t'we^3 "MySi, step-mother"), and one is tempted to bring into comparison Dimasa de-de FSi, be-de MB. Garo final -e, however, has in most instances been derived from TB -ei and corresponds to -ai in Bodo-Dimasa; cf. Garo sre "tongue", Bodo si-lai, Moran se-lai, Dimasa sa-lai (Tib. lce < *š-lei);

601 Garo bi-t'e ~ bi-te "fruit", Bodo, Moran bi-t'ai, Dimasa ba-t'ai (TB *sai). The Garo B languages generally retain a final diphthong (-ai, -oi) in this series; cf. Ruga telai "tongue" (Achik sre), and Atong, Koch, Jalpaiguri Garo goi, Ruga gai, corresponding to the Achik numerary adjunct ge (generic classifier). Dacca Koch has doi (= Garo de) Ch, mi-ã-doi S (mi-ã "male", cf. Jalpaiguri Garo mi-wa "male", a-wa F), jong-doi yB, no-ga-doi ySi, showing the fullest development of this element. We can further trace it in Garo p'an-te ~ pan-te "unmarried young man" (da-p'an-te S), man-dê "man (homo)". The latter is commonly etymologized as "child of Man" (Man = Burmese), but the correct analysis seems to be p'an-te < *p'a-ni-te "father-of child", man-de < *ma-ni-de "mother-of child" (ni is the Garo genitive particle); cf. Bara fi-sa = Bodo (supra). If this interpretation is correct, de must be regarded as a secondary sonant variant of te; cf. jik "wife", me-cik "wife, woman, female". In view of the Dimasa use of "fruit" for "gCh", we can further connect this term te ~ de with bi-t'e ~ bi-te "fruit" (Dimasa ba-t'ai).

Of the Garo collateral terminology we know only the single term (ang-)ri "(my) SiS", probably to be interpreted as a man's term for his xNe. This lone term is unusually interesting, however, for it constitutes an important link with Chang (Konyak) li xNe. The initials are regular, since Garo lacks initial l- and has replaced it with r-, as in sre "tongue", Dimasa sa-lai; srak "to lick", Dimasa sa-lau < *sa-lak; cri "bow", Dimasa jili.

Garo su gCh (Playfair, texts, p. 119) (su-gi-pa in GM) is directly linked with Bodo šou < šu, Dimasa bu-su-t'ai, and Kachin šu. Thus Garo has (ang-)ri < *li xNe, as in Chang, but šu gCh, as in Kachin, while Chang has ši gCh paralleling Kachin šu ma-ši ggCh.

The affinal nomenclature is a medley of native and Assamese terms, such as was found in Bodo-Dimasa. The native terms include se H (Dimasa sai), jik W, me-čik "woman" (Dimasa ju ~ jik), gu-me Bl (GM) (Dimasa bi-gi-mi oSiH,ySiH,WoB), and bo-ning WSi (Bonn), Bl (GM). Bo-ning is apparently connected with Bodo bi-b-nang Bl,Sil, and must be compared with Chang (Konyak) a-nyǎng < *ning Sil(we), Kachin ning, id. The nature of the distinction between bo-ning and gu-me is not known, nor is the latter term analyzable, though the element -me is perhaps identical with the first element of me-cik "woman". The Garo and Bodo-Dimasa terms are not strictly comparable, since Garo me should correspond to Bodo-Dimasa *mai, and Garo *mi to Bodo-Dimasa mi. Garo se H = Bodo-Dimasa sai shows the normal correspondence, however; cf. Garo se-a "to select Bodo and Dimasa sai ("husband" < "the selected one").

Garo ma-ni Ml,FSi,MBW constitutes the most important categorical equation yet uncovered in the Barish group. Compare also a-jong MoSi,FoBW, and the corresponding terms in Bodo. As in Indic, the term mama is used only for MB, not for Fl. Garo a-bu-di Fl looks like a development from

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the root bu gF (bu-de gF, in GM), perhaps "little gF" (cf. a-di MySi). According to the tables in McSwiney, both Abeng (Garo B) and Atong (Garo A) equate WF and HF with MB and FSiH, and WM and HM with FSi and MBW, but the terms involved are not given. Since Garo has replaced the native term for MB with the Indic loan-word mama, we might regard a-bu-di Fl as the original term for MB, and this view is strengthened by the appearance of the term be-de MB in Dimasa (the indicated etymology is not thereby ruled out). Cf. also the term o-bi-te Fl found in the GM dictionary, with the ordinary prefix bi- ("his"). For the o- element here, cf. ni-o Ml cited by Playfair (text on p. 119) and the GM.

Nam-cik Dl (Dimasa be-ham-ju ~ ba-ham-jik) is from the TB root *nam ~ *snam, but the parallel TB root *mag ~ *smag is nowhere in evidence. Nok-rong (Bonn) ~ nok-rom (Bose) and cowari (Bose) are applied to two distinct types of son-in-laws, which have been described by Bose in some detail. The cowari (< Assamese jowain Sl, apparently influenced by Assamese bowari Dl) is the ordinary son-in-law, who receives no especial favors from his father-in-law and lives in a separate house in his wife's village. The nok-rong, on the other hand, is especially selected, usually from among a man's sister's sons, and lives in the home of his parents-in-law. After the death of his father-in-law, he manages the property which is inherited by his wife. If his mother-in-law is still living and thus still in charge

601 of the property, he must marry her as a second wife or else lose his claim to the property. The nok-rong of a nok-ma (head-man) succeeds to the latter's office. The institution of the nok-rong may be regarded as a device for transmitting control over property in the male line (a man selects his nok-rong from among his sister's sons), even though the property itself is inherited in the female line. Playfair, who writes nok-rom rather than nok-rong, derives the term from nok "house" and krong "house-post", i.e. "support of the house" (p. 73), and this explanation is better than any other that can be suggested.

In addition to cowari Si, Indic loan-words are represented by sari HSi < Indic sali WySi, sadhu WSiH, apparently derived from Assamese sahu Fl, and isnok WB (unidentified).

In general, Garo has been less influenced than Bodo by the Assamese terminology. The Assamese borrowings reach their peak in Moran, which has a-bai F (bopai), barai FoSi, MoSi, MySi (bar ai FoBW), ai M (ai), a-kai oB (kakai), bhai yB (bhai), and probably also a-mai MB as in Bodo (mamai), though Gurdon does not cite the terms for "uncle".

The matrilineal society of the Garo is well known to anthropologists and need not be described here in any detail. Our Garo sources (Playfair, Bose, Walker) are not altogether in agreement with one another, and our information on the other Barish groups, in Endle, 1911 (Kachari = Bodo, Rabha, Moran, Deori Chutiya), Allen (Lalung), Grace (Hill Kachari = Dimasa), Lewin (Tipura), and Pereira (Rabha), is not very extensive.

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For the Garo, Playfair (p. 64) recognizes three exogamous septs (*katchi*), viz. Momin, Marak, and Sangma, the first of which (Momin) is confined to the Awe section of the Garo. Walker recognizes only two exogamous groups, the Marak and Sangma, but notes that in some tribes of the Garo (unspecified) Momin Marak. Bose (1934) makes the following statement:

> We have been able to complete the investigation of the social system of the Garos, specially [sic] amongst the Abengs, the Atongs and the Ganchings in southern central part of the Garo Hills. The Garos, as far as our informations [sic] show, definitely possess a tripartite system instead of a dual which Hodson ascribes to them on the authority of the Census Report of 1911. (p. 28)

Each of these exogamous divisions, whether two or three, is made up of a number of exogamous matrilineal clans or 'motherhoods', which are called *ma-chong* or *ma-sa* (Playfair, note to text on p. 134), the latter formed from (a-)ma M and (bi-)sa Ch. According to the clan names listed in Playfair, Appendix A (Walker states that his own list, which is not given, differs from Playfair's in many details), most of the clans are limited to a single *katchi*, and none is found in all three *katchi*.

Walker describes exogamous moieties (Sinching and Ajum) for the Tintiki (=Tintikiya) Koch (Garo A). The Rabhas are said to have exogamous clans but no generic terms for them (Walker). Pereira states that these clans (*barai*) are matrilineal and exactly correspond to the Garo *ma-chong*. He further notes that two *barai* may unite to form a single ex-

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egamous unit. Walker indicates a dual organization for the Rabha, perhaps even a four- or eight-class system, but his account is not clear:

> They have subdivisions in two groups, anyone of one subdivision being restricted in choice of mate to a subdivision of the other group. (p. 1[illegible]8)

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The Bodo-Dimasa tribes appear to lack the dual or tripartite divisions found among the Garo groups, but do possess exogamous clans. Engle (1911, pp. 24 and ff.) describes a number of sub-tribes among the Kachari or Bodo, and states that these were formerly endogamous, yet at a later point (p. 27) mentions the existence of 16 exogamous subdivisions among the Gowalpara Mech (Mech= Bodo or Kachari). P. T. Gurdon, the editor of Endle's work, notes this inconsistency and questions the existence of endogamous groups among the Bodo at any period. The accounts of the Dimasa (Endle, pp. 27-28, Grace) are equally vague. Endle states that this tribe has some 80 clans, of which 40 are known as men's clans (*seng-fang*) and 40 as women's clans (*zǔlu*), and Grace refers to the same distinction, but nothing is said of the nature of the organization of these clans. All the Dimasa clans, with the exception of the Ha-chum-sa (royal clan), are said to be exogamous (Endle). The Lalung clans are likewise exogamous, with the exception of the Masorang (P. H. Moore, in Allen).

The Garo and Rabha are known to be matrilineal, but we lack specific information on descent reckoning in the Bodo-Dimasa group. As noted above, among the Garo property is

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transmitted from mother to daughter but the actual control over it is passed down in the male line, from father to father's sister's son (belonging to the same ma-chong). The Rabha have matrilineal descent, as among the Garo, but property is handed down from father to son and women are completely barred from inheritance, as in Hindu law. Pereira calls this a "transitional" stage, but it would be more natural to regard the Garo condition as a transitional stage from which the Rabha has been developed. The Lalung, who belong to the Bodo-Dimasa stock, show another sort of compromise, if we can rely on the account given by Moore (in Allen). Among this tribe a man may enter his wife's clan or a woman may enter her husband's clan, but all property and children of the marriage belong to the clan adopted at the time of the wedding. Furthermore, a man may leave his adopted wife's clan on her death, but loses all claim to the property and children.

A third feature which can be established for the Garo but not for the Bodo-Dimasa groups is cross-cousin marriage. The Garo nok-rong institution involves the marriage of a man with his mother's brother's daughter, but since there is only one nok-rong per family of daughters it follows that most Garo marriages do not involve cross-cousins. The term ma-ni FSi,Ml undoubtedly reflects this practice, and a-bu-di Fl can perhaps be interpreted in a similar manner (vide supra). It is unfortunate that our information on the Garo nomenclature

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for collateral and affinal kin is so meagre, for we should expect to find some distinctive features here. The Rabha, of Garo A type, prohibit marriage with "paternal cousins" even though the couple are of different barja, but marriage with either FSiD or MBD is permitted. Pereira notes that a man having only one daughter and no son may adopt his sister's son, to whom he gives his daughter in marriage; cf. the Garo nok-rong institution. Among the Hill Kachari (= Dimasa), a man may not marry into his mother's clan, nor a daughter into her father's clan, according to the account given by Grace; the latter restriction, with matrilineal descent, would rule out marriage of a woman with her FSiS, hence also marriage of a man with his MBD.

The nok-rong institution of the Garo seems to represent merely the formalization of a basic pattern of the Barish-speaking peoples, whence we can infer that the cross-cousin marriage associated with it likewise represents a pattern of cross-cousin marriage in general. The Rabha custom described above represents one facet of this pattern, and the Bodo practice of son-in-law service represents another. Hodgson (p. 178), who gives from 2 to 5 or 7 years as the term of service, states that the native term for this custom is gaboi, undoubtedly derived from boi "to serve as a slave, to lend oneself as slave in return of money taken" (Skrefsrud), and cf. Lushei (Kuki group) boi' "slave". Endle (pp. 44-45) draws a distinction between two types of son-in-law service,

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viz. olao ghar-jiya and mel ghar-jiya. In the former type, the term lasts from 3 or 4 to 12 or 15 years, after which the couple are free to depart (cohabitation is allowed after about 12 or 18 months' service). In the latter type, the man severs all connection with his own family and completely identifies himself with that of his bride, in whose house he serves until the death of her parents, when with his wife he is entitled to the whole or the usual share of their property (and retains no claim on the property of his own parents). This second type narrowly approaches the Garo nok-rong institution, despite the fact that the Bodo transmit property from father to sons (Endle, p. 32), though we do not know whether or not a man selects his sister's son to play this role. The interesting account of the Tipura given by Lewin (pp. 80-82) includes mention of a period of three years' service by the future son-in-law. Matrilocal residence is indicated by the last few lines of the autobiographical account of a young Tipura man, viz:

> I slept there [in girl's parents' house] that night, and many nights afterwards, till at last the old people [i.e. the girl's parents] called me son, and I left my father's house and lived there for good. She is my wife now. (p. 82)

We have seen that the Garo division of the Barish-speaking peoples (Garo and Rabha) exhibit three prominent features, viz. dual or tripartite organization, matrilineal reckoning of descent, and cross-cousin marriage, none of which can be established for the Bodo-Dimasa division. The

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inadequacy of our sources may account for some of these differences, yet we must recognize the existence of a cultural cleavage paralleling the linguistic division.

Linguistic note: Dimasa ba-haing "relations, kindred", from haing "flesh" (Garo be-en). Cf. the Tibetan-Lepcha use of ša "flesh" for relatives on mother's side, and rus-pa "bone" for relatives on father's side. The Dimasa term suggests matrilineal reckoning.

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1[For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, ALI Southeast Asia ALI --- Analyst]

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12. Mikir

197 Mikir is the first of the Kuki-type languages to be considered in the present survey. It is spoken in the Mikir Hills, south of the Brahmaputra, and adjacent areas, i.e. northwest of the main body of the Kuki languages proper (vide the diagram in pt. 15). The writer has classified this language as Kukic, in contradistinction to the Kukish languages (Kuki, Naga, and transitional groups). Early writers, apparently influenced by geographical considerations, compared Mikir with the Bodo (Barish) languages, and in the LSI the misleading term "Bodo-Naga" was applied to the language. The true affinities of the Mikir, both linguistic and cultural, were first pointed out by Sir Charles Lyall in a final chapter (VII) on "Affinities" in the standard Mikir ethnography The Mikirs, based on material collected by Stack but edited by Lyall (cited as SL). Lyall made a number of comparisons with the Kuki languages, most of which are acceptable, and the writer has examined Mikir phonology at some length. The lexical resemblances are predominantly with Kuki, but many important links also exist with Barish, Kachin, and Burmish-Loloish. In its far-reaching affiliations Mikir can be compared with Kachin, the 'nexus' of Tibeto-Burman.

The most complete source for Mikir is the dictionary by Walker, which is much more extensive than the earlier work by 601 Neighbor. A list of kinship terms appears in SL, p. 20, and additional information can be gleaned from the annotated texts

60 included in this work. The list by Robinson, recorded ca. 1850, is of especial interest because of its early date. Of minor importance is the Mikir material in Butler, Stewart, and the LSI.

Mikir Consanguineal Terms

p'i	gM			p'u	gF
pei pi	M			po	F
pi-nu	MSi			pu-nu	FB
ni	FSi			ong ni-hu	MB
te	oSI(ws)			ik	oB
		mu	ySb		
ing-jir-pi	oSi(ms)	kor kor-te	Sb	cek-le	B(ws)
				kor-po	MBS(ws)
so-pi	D	so	Ch	so-po	S
p'i-li-pi	Ni			p'i-li-po	Ne
				kor-a-so	BS
				o-sa	SiS(ms)
su-pi	gD			su-po	gS

Mikir Affinal Terms

ni-pi ni-hai	WM	hu-po ong-hai	WF
ni	MBW, WBW	lok-hai	HF
te-pi	BW(ms)	ong-so	WB
neng	BW(ws)	me kor-po	SiH
kor-pi	WSi	o-sa	Si

601 **Notes:**

Standard TB roots are represented by Mikir p'u gF, p'i gM, and p'o F < TB *p'a; cf. Mikir p'a-ngo <*ba-nga "5", a-vo <*wa "bird", co <*dza "to eat". Pei∼pe M (the second form is perhaps the more common) can be reconstructed either as *pei or *pai, since Mikir, like Tibetan, substitutes final -e for these two diphthongs, e.g. Mikir me, Tib. me, TB *mei "fire"; Mikir de, Tib. lce (< c-le), TB *š-lei "tongue", and Mikir ei "I" , Kachin ai ∼ ngai; Mikir ce-te "navel", Tib. lte-ba, Kachin ša-dai; Mikir prei "botch, mar, spoil", Burmese prai "to waste"; Mikir re "cunning, skilful, clever, sharp", Burmese rai^3 "bold"; Mikir se "sound, noise, voice, tone", Burmese sai^3 "to be noisy"; Mikir me "good, beautiful , Kachin mai. If the form is reconstructed as *pai, a comparison is available with Burmese a-pai "madam". Mikir pi M has the basic meaning "female", the regular feminine suffix being a-pi, paired with a-lo (masc.), from TB *la. Pi is directly cognate with the Kukish root *pui; Mikir lacks this final diphthong and has substituted -i, as in ti "egg", Kukish *tui. The appearance of this distinctively Kukish root in Mikir is worthy of notice. Pei ∼ pe is used in address for "D" (note to text on p. 148 in SL), paralleling Burmese mi' M,D, and po is similarly applied to "S" or "gS" (SL, texts on p. 99, 101, 121).

The terms pi-nu MSi (a-nu in Robinson) and pu-nu FB appear to contain the Kukish root *nu M. The latter stands for *po-nu, the modern form reflecting the vocalic harmony characteristic of Mikir; Butler cites the earlier form po-nu. The two terms are thus exactly analogous. If the above derivation is correct, the element -nu has retained its feminine force only in pi-nu MSi, whence perhaps pu-nu < *po-nu through analogy.

Mikir ni FSi and ni-hu MB are from the standard TB roots *ni and *k'u, respectively, the latter being a novel combination of the two roots. The development h- < k'- is normal for Mikir; cf. Mikir a-hem <*k'yim "house"; ing-ho <*ma-k'a "mouth"; ho <*k'a "bitter"; hi <*k'wi "dog" (hi cited only in Robinson, our earliest Mikir source). The alternative term ong MB, for which no comparisons have been found, seems to have an essentially honorific connotation.

The Mikir Sb terms show an unusual arrangement, though one essentially of Tibeto-Burman type, with distinctions both of sex of speaker and of age. The definitions in the above tabulation are those given by SL, who specify that ik and mu are used by both sexes. Walker, however, defines ik as "oB(ms),yB(ws),FyBS(os)", as well as "sir", and in SL (text on p. 111) this term is used in address to MB. The comparison with Burmese ats-kui < *ik-kui oB has already been made (pt. 9); note Burmese -kui < *ku, apparently related to the TB root for "MB". Mikir te oSi(ws) can be derived from TB *tei, with irregular representation, e.g. Kanauri a-te oB, Kadu a-te oSi. Robinson, our earliest Mikir source, cites a-te oB, suggesting an original meaning "oSb". Note that in Mikir, at any rate, 601 this root is distinct from TB *t'ei "big", as represented by Mikir t'e "great, large, big", Nung t'e, id., and Tib. mt'e-bo ~ t'e-bo "thumb, big toe". For "oSi" the same authority gives bai, an Assamese loan-word. The phrase bhin (kali) bha (kali), in SL, text, p. 119, is defined as "Si"; it appears to have been derived from Assamese bhain ySi and bhai yB. Aside from these terms, Assamese loan-words do not appear in the Mikir kinship nomenclature, and this despite the considerable body of Assamese words in the language as a whole.

Mikir mu ySb is of uncertain affiliations. The original may have been *mu, *mou, or *mau, since these three finals are confused in Mikir. The most likely comparison, perhaps, is with the root *mu "seed", found in Lushei (mu) and Lakher (hmo) as well as in Mikir itself (mu), and in Khami (Southern Kuki) represented by the word a-mu "clan". For the semantics involved, cf. the discussion supra (pt. 8) of the Nung-Burmese root *ma-li gCh. Kadu, which has retained the term a-te oSi, also has a-mu oB, which may or may not be cognate with the Mikir term.

The remaining Sb terms do not lend themselves to analysis. The use of an especial term (kor ~ kor-te) for "Sb" is most unusual. Stewart cites the term in the meaning "friend", and it is reasonably certain that this general connotation was the earlier one. Ing-jir-pi has been derived from *ing-jil(-pi), the final -l being retained in the early record by Robinson (Butler cites the odd variant form ning-jir-pi Si). Cek-le B(ws) cannot be analyzed.

Mikir so Ch can be compared with either TB *ts'a or *za, since Mikir substitutes s- for either initial (e.g. sek "joint", Tib. ts'igs, Burmese ts'ats < *ts'ik), and -o < -a is the normal Mikir shift (supra). So < *za is the more likely derivation, in view of the general Tibeto-Burman evidence. The xN term o-sa is difficult to interpret, since final -a is rare in Mikir and cannot be placed within the normal Tibeto-Burman phonetic framework. If the obvious comparison with Tib. ts'a Ne,gCh be made, some non-phonetic factor or factors must be invoked to explain the development so < *za Ch but o-sa < *ts'a Ne. The first element of this term may be connected with ong MB; cf. the vacillation in ong ∼ o "much", lang ∼ la "verbal continuative affix".

Almost nothing is known of the Mikir collateral terminology. Kor-po MBS(ws) is found in SL, text. p. 127, where the meaning is clear from the context (and cf. Lyall's note to this page). Walker cites ik in the meaning "FyBS(os)", and mu in the meaning "FBS", showing that Sb terms are extended to include parallel cousins. Kor-a-so BS is an analytical term, as is ik-a-so oBS; Butler cites ko-a-so Mi, (no-)kor-a-so Ne. Since o-sa is used for SiS(ms), it can be inferred that p'i-li-po and p'i-li-pi are a woman's terms for BS and BD, respectively. The basic term *p'i-li xN is most significant, since we can relate it directly to the Nung-Burmese root *ma-li gCh and the Konyak root *li xN. In Mikir prefix p'- (vocalised to harmonize with vowel of root) stands for the TB prefix b- as represented in Kukish, while ing- stands for the prefix ma-, 601 e.g. Mikir ing-ho "mouth", Kachin ma-k'a. Nung also has a labial stop prefix, while Kachin has ma-. In Burmese both prefixes are ordinarily dropped, but m- may be retained before r- (probably when the original prefix was ma- rather than ba-, but this point has not yet been settled).

	Kukish	Mikir	Kachin	Nung	Burmese
five	*ba-nga	p'o-ngo	ma-nga	pa-nga	nga^3
four	*ba-li	p'i-li	ma-li	a-ba-li	le^3
gCh,xN	-	p'i-li	ma-li*	p'a-li	mre^3
snake	*ba-rul	p'u-rul p'u-rui	-	-	mrwe

*Note: Kachin ma-li "young man".

Mikir agrees with Meithei and differs from Kukish in its retention of the root *su gCh, which has been encountered in Kachin, Konyak, and Barish.

The affinal terminology presents several categorical equations or partial equations. The WP terms are formed from ni FSi and (ni-)hu MB with the aid of the sex-suffixes -pi and -po or the unanalyzed suffix -hai. The latter may be essentially honorific, to judge from its association with ong MB, and its use in the new term lok-hai WF. It would seem that the term ni FSi is used affinally, without suffixed elements, only in the meanings "MBW" and "WBW" (Walker), but we should expect it to have the additional meaning "HM" (this term has not been recorded). Both ni and pi-nu are incorrectly defined in the table in SL, p. 20, but corrections can be made from the list on p. 155 and the Mikir texts (pp. 111 and 141).

The term ong-so WB is to be interpreted analytically as "S of MB", and thus presents an equation MBS = WB. Similarly, kor-po SiH is a woman's term (vide SL, text, p. 127 and note) and thus presents another equation MBS(ws) = SiH(ws). Mo SiH is probably a man's term (it can be reconstructed either *mei or *mai, vide supra). A third term is cited for SiH, viz. ing-jir-ar-lo, containing the element ing-jir-pi oSi(ms). Another categorical equation is found in o-sa Si = SiS(ms).

Mikir neng BW(ws) is directly related to Kachin ning, id. Mikir has medial *e* for *i* in a number of roots, e.g. kep < *kip "10"; a-mek < *mik "eye"; a-hem < *k'yim "house"; neng(-kan) < *ning "year"; rek < *s-rik "louse"; sek < *ts'ik "joint".

The nomenclature analyzed above agrees rather closely with the Mikir marriage practices as described in SL (the only ethnographic source of any importance in this connection). The Mikirs are divided into three large sections, viz. the Amri, Chintong, and Ronghang, which are primarily geographical and of no consequence as regards marriage. The exogamous unit is the patrilineal *kur*. SL describe four *kur* (Ingti, Terang = "bachelor's house", Lekthe, Timung), but a fifth (Teran ~ Teron) is described by other authorities (vide the full discussion in SL, Appendix on pp. 23-27). There are no indications that the *kur* are grouped in any manner. Preferential marriage with MBD can be inferred from the following statement in SL:

> The children are counted to the father's *kur*, and cannot marry within it. They may, however, marry their first cousins on the mother's side, and indeed this appears to have been formerly the most usual match. (p. 17)

601 In the Mikir story of The Orphan and his Uncles (SL, pp. 53 and ff.) we find an incident in which the orphan, shut up in an iron cage by his maternal uncles, blames his plight on his refusal to marry one of his uncles' daughters. The categorical equations in the Mikir nomenclature all point to cross-cousin marriage, and the presence of separate terms for WF (hu-po ~ ong-hai) and HF (lok-hai) indicate that it is of unilateral type. The Mikir features in general, then, strictly conform to the wider Tibeto-Burman pattern that has gradually emerged from the present study.

The Mikir material provides some valuable points in re the general problem of borrowing. Mikir has been heavily influenced by Khasi, the Mon-Khmer language spoken in the neighboring Khasi and Jaintia Hills, both in language and in culture. Thus, the word kur "clan" has been borrowed from Khasi, and the ka- prefix used in women's names, along with a large number of Khasi words of other types and some grammatical elements, e.g. the prefixed imperative particle to- (vide SL, text on p. 139, note). Cultural borrowings include dress (in general), divination methods, and funeral ceremonies and the erection of a stone memorial (cf. SL, p. 152). Yet Mikir has retained intact its patrilineal mode of reckoning descent, and appears not to have borrowed a single Khasi kinship term. Contrast the situation that obtains among the Garo, who in general perhaps show less Khasi influence (certainly as regards language), yet have a fully developed matrilineal kinship system of Khasi type.

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13. Meithei

[101] 197 The Meithei (Manipuri) are the ruling people of the Native State of Manipur, which is centrally located in the general Burma-Assam area under surveillance. On the west is the British District of Cachar, on the north the Naga Hills, on the east the Upper Chindwin District of Burma, and on the south the Chin and Lushai Hills, hence it can be seen that the Meithei are completely surrounded by Tibeto-Burman speaking peoples of several varieties. The Meithei are a people of relatively high culture and have exerted no little influence on some of these peoples within the borders of their own state (vide pt. 15). The language is written in a native script of Indic origin, and possesses a literature of some antiquity. As has long been recognized, Meithei is a divergent member of the Kuki stock. The writer has classified both Meithei and Mikir (supra) as independent members of the Kukic supergroup (vide the diagram in pt. 15), but it must be pointed out that Meithei approaches the Kuki languages proper more nearly than does Mikir. Note that Meithei and Mikir, the two outlying members of the Kukic division, are separated by the main body of Kuki and Naga languages (Kukish).

197 601 Our material on Meithei is not of the best, since no true dictionary of the language has appeared and we accordingly are forced to rely on grammars (Primrose, Pettigrew) and word-lists (McCulloch, Stewart, LSI). The earlier

197 literature is said to be written in an archaic form of the
601 language, but this "archaic Meithei" has never been described in any detail. A few terms from this language, which must have differed considerably from the modern speech, have been taken from the text in Hodson (Appendix II) and from the LSI word-list (1928).

601

Meithei Consanguineal Terms

(i-)bel-bok	ggM	(i-)pu-bok	ggF
(i-)bel	gM	(i-)pu	gF
(i-)ma	M	(i-)pa	F
(i-)n-dol	MSi	(i-)tol	FB
(i-)nem	FSi		
(i-)cem	oSi	ya-ma	oB
(i-)cal	ySi	(i-)nau	yB
(i-)ca nu-pi	D,Ni	(i-)ca ni-pa	S,Ne
(i-)su nu-pi	gD	(i-)su ni-pa	gS

Meithei Affinal Terms

(i-)nem	Ml	(i-)ku	Fl
(ma-)tu	W	(ma-)wa	H
(i-)nau nu-pi (i-)tei-ma	oSil	(i-)nau ni-pa	Bl
		(i-)bai	WoB
		(i-)šen	WyB
(i-)mau	Dl	(i-)mak	Sl

601 Notes:

The prefix i- of the above forms is really the 1st person affix, corresponding to ai "I", while ma- is the 3rd person affix, e.g. ai-gi i-pa "my father", nan-gi na-pa "thy father", ma-gi ma-pa "his father" (gi is genitive suffix).

Three of the four P and gP terms are from standard TB roots. Note the lack of aspiration in i-pu gF, i-pa F, as well as in i-cem oSi, i-ku Fl (infra). As in Kachin, the existence of these unaspirated forms is of some significance, since initial aspiration is ordinarily in Meithei. I-bel gM is one of several Meithei kinship terms that show the final -l ~ -n alternation typical of this language; cf. i-bel ~ i-ben gM, i-tol ~ i-ton FB, in-dol ~ in-don eSi, and i-cal ~ i-can ySi (Primrose usually has -n, Pettigrew -l). In reconstructing the original forms of these terms one has a choice between final -r and -l, since Meithei shifts -r to -l; cf. Meithei yol ~ yon "to sell", Kuki *yuar; Meithei na-ton ma-k'ul "nostril" ("nose-its-hole"), Kuki *k'ur "hole"; Meithei sa-gol ~ sa-gon "horse", Kuki *sa-gor, from Indic ghora plus the "animal prefix" sa-. I-bel gM seems to be isolated in Tibeto-Burman, but cf. Assamese buri ai gM (ai M). The categorical term bok, used for the 3rd ascending generation, has not been identified. It has an honorific force in the terms i-nem-bok Ml (= i-nem) and i-ku-bok Fl (= i-ku) cited by Pettigrew.

Our data on PSb terms are vague and incomplete. Primrose cites i-ton FyB, in-dol FyBW, while Pettigrew gives i-tol FB, in-dol MSi. The form in-dol is probably to be analyzed *i-ma-tol (n < m through assimilation to d, and d < t through assimilation to the sonant nasal). The element -tol appears also in na-tol ~ na-ton "nose" (TB *s-na); cf. Kachin wa-di FoB and la-di "nose". Primrose cites the two additional terms i-pan "uncle", im-han "uncle's wife". The former seems to be identical with Old Meithei a-pal F (Hodson ma-pal, text on p. 188), and the latter can be analyzed *i-ma-han, from a-hal "old", Kuki *sar, id. It is perhaps legitimate to infer that these are the terms for FoB and MoSi, respectively, and that i-tol and in-dol are the corresponding terms for FyB and MySi. Pettigrew cites khura as an alternative term for i-tol FB, but this is from Assamese khura FyB, hence i-tol= FyB.

I-nem FSi and i-cem oSi make up a sub-type of their own, since each has suffixed -m. Pettigrew cites doublet forms for each, viz. i-nem ~ i-ne, i-cem ~ i-ce, and the terms are directly cognate with Tib. ˀa-ne FSi, ˀe-c'e oSi. The final -m is perhaps the remnant of an original feminine suffix -ma.

Of the remaining sibling terms, i-cal ~ i-can ySi is referable to the Kuki root *zar ~ *dzar and Kachin jan < *jar Si(ms), the latter often employed in the meaning "ySi", while i-nau yB is from TB *nau ySb (contrast Barish *nau ySi). Meithei ya-ma (also yam-ma ~ yam-ba) oB, however, seems to lack cognates in neighboring languages, but cf. Almora *hya

601 oB (pt. 3). Old Meithei has an entirely distinct term, viz. a-sa-bi oB, paralleling a-sa-nau yB. Finally, Primrose cites a third term, ta-da oB, apparently connected with the TB root ta ~ da, yet the reduplicated form is not of Meithei type.

Meithei i-ca Ch is from TB *za rather than *ts'a; cf. ca-ba "to eat", Tib. za-ba, as contrasted with a-sa-ba "hot", TB *ts'a; sam "hair", TB *ts'am. I-su gCh marks the southernmost extension of this Tibeto-Burman root. Meithei also has a-ngang "infant" (Stewart cites a-ngang-ni-pa "boy", a-ngang-nu-pi "girl"). The term nu-pi "woman", used as a suffix in the D and gD terms, combines the two Kuki roots *nu " and *pui "female" (Meithei lacks the diphthong -ui). The alternative term for "woman", viz. ning-ol, seems to contain the TB root *ning xCi(ws),Sil(ws). Note that pi also appears in pi-ba "male" (= ni-pa). The contrast between -pi ~ -bi and -pa ~ -ba is carried through in a number of Meithei words, e.g. han-u-ba "old men", han-u-bi "old woman" (a-hal "old"); mai-ba "native doctor" (masc.), mai-bi, id. (fem.); ma-pa "parent" (masc.), ma-pi, id. (fem.); yen-ba "cock", yen-bi "hen" (yel "fowl"), san-bi "cow" (sal is generic term). Note the application of these prefixes to the word for "fowl", where the regular sex-suffixes for names of animals are la-ba (masc.) and a-mom (fem.).

The collateral terms are not known, but i-ca ni-pa S,Ne and i-ca nu-pi D,Ni indicate that the Sb and Ch terms are extended to include parallel C and N, respectively.

601

The affinal terminology shows a categorical equation in i-nem Ml = FSi, and partial equations in i-nau ni-pa Bl, i-nau mu-pi oSil (perhaps for ySil) = i-nau yB. The use of sex-suffixes with the latter term shows that it was originally neuter (TB *nau ySb). I-ku Fl, connected with TB *k'u ~ *ku MB, parallels a-nem, but unfortunately the Meithei term for MB does not appear in any of our sources. The phrase mamaga pokminaba mamada, translated "maternal........uncle", is included in the Meithei text in Hodson, p. 191, but one cannot be sure of the interpretation of this passage (cf. Indic māmā MB).

Of the remaining affinal terms, two exactly correspond to Kuki terms, viz. i-mak Sl (Kuki *mak) and i-mau Dl (Kuki *mou). I-tei-ma oSil agrees with Mikir te oSi(ws), te-pi Sil(ws); cf. Meithei lei, Mikir de, Tib. lce "tongue"; Meithei mei, Mikir, Tib. me "fire". I-bai WoB and i-šen WyB are more difficult to place, though the former can be compared with Maru (Burmish-Loloish) pai oSi, Burmese a-pai "madam". Ma-wa H apparently contains the TB element *wa "father, male"; cf. Bodo howa ~ hiwa "male", and ma-tu W must be compared with Kuki *tu Ne, gS (under cross-cousin marriage xNi = SW). Note that both these terms have ma-prefix, never i-, hence we have ma-wa "her husband (male)" and ma-tu "his wife (xNi)".

The Meithei are divided into seven large sections (salei), which are exogamous, according to our best sources (Hodson, Shakespear), but are described in McSwiney as

601 endogamous. Shakespear employs the term *yek* rather than *salei*, and seeks to connect it with Lushei ziak "to write", on the basis that each *yek* is associated with a certain letter, e.g. Angom has the letter *ko*, for kok "head" (the comparison is phonetically likely, since Lushei initial z- is derived from y-, and Meithei has medial e for ia, as in lek "to pass the night", Lushei riak; ta-ret "7", Lushei riat "8").

The *salei* are made up of exogamous clans or *yumnak* (yum "house", nak "near"; cf. Tib. nye-ba "to be near", gnyen "kinsman"). McSwiney recognizes a further subdivision into *sagei* or families, but Hodson states that this term, literally "relationship" ("relations" in Primrose), is normally used in reference to a Naga clan. Both *salei* and *sagei* seem to contain the element ša "flesh" (Tib. sa, used with reference to matrilineal descent). The Meithei apparently reckon descent only on the father's side, as shown by the patrilineal bias of their culture in general (e.g. only the sons share in inheritance), but our authorities have deemed it unnecessary to record this point.

The number of *yumnak* in each of the seven *salei* (Mingthaja, Kumul, Luang, Angom, Moirang, Khabananba, Chenglei) varies from 115 to 17. It is not known whether or not a single *yumnak* extends into two or more *salei*. It seems likely that the *salei* were originally geographical or even tribal units rather than marriage groups. According to McCulloch (p. 4) some of these sections have distinct migration traditions, and Hodson notes that the Moirang still preserve a considerable degree of independence and autonomy and are mainly settled in the immediate vicinity of their eponymous village. The Ningthaja or "Royal clan" (section, or salei) may intermarry with any of the other sections, the lone exception being the Laipham clan of the Moirang section (cf. the similar lack of restrictions in the case of the Ang, the chiefly clan of the Konyak). The remaining sections are all restricted as to intermarriage, e.g. the Angom can marry only with the Kumul or Chenglei, the Kumul and Luang may not intermarry (they have a tradition of common ancestry); cf. the ill-arranged account in Hodson, p. 75. The sections of the Meithei are thus seen to have much in common with the five divisions of the Kachin.

It is not to be expected that the Meithei, who have long been under direct Indian influence, should have maintained the practice of cross-cousin marriage so clearly reflected in their kinship terminology. If we may rely on a statement made by Hodson (p. 76), marriage with a woman of one's mother's clan is forbidden, but Hodson adds that the prohibition goes no further than the first generation, hence second-cousin marriage on the mother's side would theoretically be possible. The same writer makes the following assertion in regard to the Ningthou or "king":

601 There seems to be a rule requiring the Meithei Ningthou to be a close connection by marriage of the Angom Ningthou, and by custom the formal coronation of the latter precedes by a few days that of the former. The relationship between the Meithei Ningthou and the Angom Ningthou, the heads, one of the Ningthaja, or Royal clan, and the other of one of the most important clans, is generally that of son-in-law and father-in-law. (p. 76)

This passage is certainly very suggestive, at least, of the familiar avunculate relationship.

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14. Mru

[101] 197 The Mru are a small marginal group in the Chittagong Hills Tract and the Chin Hills, where they live in close communication with the Khami, a Southern Kuki people. The fullest early account of the Mru is given by Lewin (pp. 92-4), while for more recent information we are indebted to J. P. Mills and three Burmese district officials: Myaing, Thin, and Pe.

Our linguistic data on the Mru are derived from Hodgson, Lewin, Myaing, and Pe. To judge from this meagre material, the language represents an early offshoot from the Kukic stock but has retained a number of distinctive roots (e.g. luk "1", pre "2", dam "fish", pram "ear"). It also shows many lexical resemblances with the Southern Kuki languages (Khami, Sho), in kinship nomenclature as in other aspects of the vocabulary. Many of these are doubtless to be interpreted as borrowings, especially those involving kinship terms. A list of Mro (= Mru) terms is given by Webb (p. lxvii), but the language is Khami rather than Mru (cf. The Gospel of St. Mathew in Mro, published by the American Baptist Missionary Society, which is actually in Khami).

601 The following tables have been compiled mainly from the lists in Myaing and Pe, which are in agreement on most points. The LSI material is of value primarily in establishing the forms themselves.

601

Mru Consanguineal Terms

pe gM		pu gF, MB
u M		pa F
u-rum MSi		pa-ma FB
na-ko FSi		
toa-ma Si	a-tai oB(mws), oSi(ms)	
yo-ma ySi(ms)		nau-ma yB
tsa-ma D	tsa Ch	tsa-pa S

Mru Affinal Terms

na-ko-ke HM		ta-rang HF
		pu WF
a-tai BW(mws)		nai WB, SiH(ms)
to-mo HSi		mo-mo SiH(ws)
yo-la Sil	no-mo WSi, HB	
yauk-sa Dl		mauk-sa Sl

Notes:

Tibeto-Burman roots are represented by pu gF, MB, pe gM (Pe cites a-pi), pa F, nau-ma yB, tsa Ch. The term u M (Hodgson, Lewin a-u, Pe a-o) seems to be connected with the root represented by Burmese u^3 "uncle", Kuki *u oSb, while the standard root *ma is found only in -ma, the feminine suffix (-la is the masculine suffix, from TB *la). The PSb terms u-rum, na-ko, and pa-ma cannot be analyzed on the basis of the available material.

601 The Sb terms have been poorly recorded, yet it is apparent that age and sex of speaker distinctions are made. The LSI cites nau-ma as "B", but in the Mru text on p. 393 the term is used in the meaning "yB", and Pe gives nauk-ma yB (cf. a-taik oB = a-tai, and naik F = nai, in Pe). Cf. the Meithei use of the root *nau ySb for yB. Little can be made of toa-ma (= twa-ma in LSI, sentence no. 225) Si, and yo-ma ySi(ms), but the oSb term a-tai is directly comparable with the TB root *tei used both for oB and oSi (e.g. Mikir te oSi); cf. Mru mai "fire", TB *mei, Mikir me.

The term tsa (also written ca) Ch is from TB *za; cf. ca "to eat", Tib. za-ba. The gCh terms have not been recorded.

In the affinal terminology, Mru has distinct terms for HF and WF, perhaps also for HM and WM, but the latter has not been recorded. Mru pu gF,MB,HF exactly parallels the Kukish term *pu (pt. 15), and the partial equation shown in na-ko-ke (or perhaps na-kok) HM, na-ko FSi is of Kukish type. Mru ta-rang HF is also of Kukish type; cf. Chawte rang FSiH, a-rang HF. It is possible that the Mru term is also applied to FSiH, since Pe cites ta-ran (for ta-rang) "uncle", and in the LSI, sentence no. 225, we find the phrase ung ta-rang tsa "my uncle's son" (ung "my", tsa "son"). The presence of these Kukish features in Mru is especially striking in view of the fact that they are poorly represented in the Southern Kuki subgroup with which Mru is in contact.

601 Mauk-sa S1 is probably from TB *mag, though the vocalism is not normal (contrast Mru pak "hog", Tib. p'ag), while yauk-sa D1 may include an element *yok related to the Burmese affinal term yok. The remaining affinal terms cannot be interpreted to advantage.

Mills gives us our best account of the Mru social organization. He reports the lack of an absence of clans among the Mru, but states that there are four classes, which he does not describe. Myaing denies the existence of such groupings altogether. Mills, however, states that exogamous clans do exist among the Mru, and describes four such clans (Shimlung, Chingnao, Nirincha, Shitnma) for the village of Bali. Marriage regulations resemble those found among the Old Kuki (pt. 15), e.g. a Shimlung man may marry a Chingnao woman, but a Chingnao man may not marry a Shimlung woman (Mills does not give further details). Large clans may be subdivided into sub-clans (kuchi; cf. Lushei chi, id.), which are exogamous, i.e. a man may marry a woman of his own clan provided that she is of a different kuchi (cf. the Kachin regulations).

The marriage regulations described by Mills, if truly analogous with those found among the Old Kuki tribes, imply marriage with MBD but notwith FSiD. Mills is silent on this point, but Myaing explicitly states that a man may not marry his FSiD or MSiD, his yB's widow, or any female of the family into which any woman of his own family has married, while he

601 may marry his FBD or MBD or his oB's widow. We must question the marriage with FBD, since this is out of place in the culture area under consideration, but the preferential marriage with MBD supports the inference made above. A reference to the levirate appears also in Lewin, and this writer further records the practice of son-in-law service.

The Mru material in general adds little to our general picture of Tibeto-Burman kinship terminology, but does show interesting connections with Kukish, both in terminology and in the marriage practices associated therewith. Unfortunately we lack the Mru cousin terms and hence cannot be sure that the 'Omaha' features of the Kukish system are also present here.

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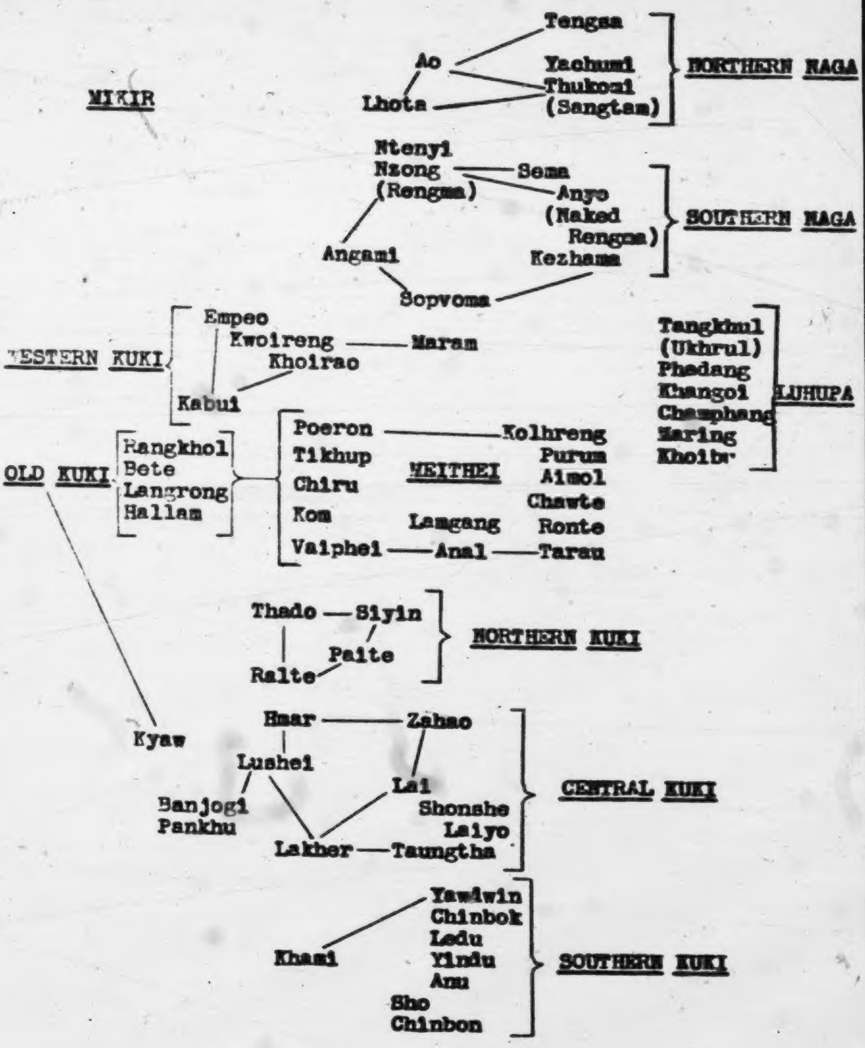
Tengsa
Ao
Yachumi
Thukomi
(Sangtam)
Lhota
NORTHERN NAGA
MIKIR
Ntenyi
Nzong
(Rengma)
Sema
Anyo
(Naked
Rengma)
SOUTHERN NAGA
Angami
Kezhama
Sopvoma
Empeo
Kwoireng
Maram
Khoirao
WESTERN KUKI
Kabui
Tangkhul
(Ukhrul)
Phadang
Khangoi
Champhang
Maring
Khoibu
LUHUPA
Poeron
Kolhreng
Rangkhol
Bete
Langrong
Hallam
OLD KUKI
Tikhup
Chiru
Kom
Vaiphei
MEITHEI
Lamgang
Anal
Purum
Aimol
Chawte
Ronte
Tarau
Thado
Siyin
Paite
Ralte
NORTHERN KUKI
Hmar
Zahao
Kyaw
Lushei
Lai
Banjogi
Pankhu
Shonshe
Laiyo
Lakher
Taungtha
CENTRAL KUKI
Yawdwin
Chinbok
Ledu
Yindu
Khami
Anu
Sho
Chinbon
SOUTHERN KUKI

305(A)

15. The Kuki Languages[1]

The Kuki languages are spoken throughout most of the mountainous country between the Brahmaputra and Irrawaddy valleys. They constitute the southern half of the Kukish linguistic group, as indicated in the subjoined table, in which the approximate geographical locations of the various Kukish languages are indicated. On the north they are connected through the transitional Luhupa and Western Kuki groups with the Naga languages. All of those languages, from Khami in the south to Ao Naga in the north, constitute a single linguistic entity, Kukish. Kukish, in turn, combines with Mikir and Meithei to form the Kukic supergroup, the largest single unit in the Tibeto-Burman family.

The Kukish group thus established is of a type paralleling that of Burmish-Loloish, i.e. one characterized by an essential unity in the face of far-flung geographical dispersion and seemingly endless phonetic and morphological specialization or degeneration. Just as the conventional demarcation between "Burmese" and "Lolo-Moso" corresponds to no real linguistic boundary and has accordingly been abandoned, so the "Naga" and "Kuki-Chin" rubrics, as set up in the LSI, must be discarded as antiquated philological paraphernalia. This new classification is one of the most important of the many conclusions reached in the Sino-Tibetan Linguistics series.

The core of the Kukish group may be said to consist of Old, Northern, and Central Kuki, which must have been derived

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[1] [See also pp. 280-9, in cat. 116 -- Analyst]

97 from a common ancestor of no great antiquity. Lushai, in the Central Kuki subgroup, which has become the lingua franca of the Lushai Hills, is the key language of the entire group because of its almost complete preservation of archaic finals. The Old Kuki languages, which are known only in fragments, have retained prefixes dropped in Central Kuki (except in Lakher and occasionally elsewhere). The Northern Kuki subgroup is of little importance from the phonetic point of view but supplies a good share of lexical elements. The Southern Kuki subgroup, which is none too well unified in itself, stands somewhat in opposition to the Old Kuki, Northern Kuki, and Central Kuki subgroups, with Khami in particular revealing a number of distinctive traits.

The four remaining Kukish subgroups exhibit more variation than those discussed above, and the relationships among them are not so readily analyzed. All four subgroups tend to preserve prefixes and initials at the sacrifice of finals. The process of phonetic degeneration reaches its peak in Southern Naga (Angami, Sema), which thus stands in relation to the Kuki languages proper much as the typical Lolo languages (Ahi, Nyi) stand in relation to Burmese. The Luhupa subgroup, in which the key language is Tangkhul, most nearly approaches the Kuki languages, with Maring and the closely related Khoibu showing especially strong Kuki influence. In no direction, however, are the transitions very great, and it is not unlikely that more detailed information on some of these languages in the future will necessi-

197 tate a revision of our classification at some points. Champhang, for example, is known only from a list of a few dozen words, and Poeron, which has generally been classed with Kabui (as in McCulloch) but which seems to represent merely an aberrant variety of Old Kuki, might show marked Luhupa or Western Kuki affinities were more material on it available. Despite these uncertainties, however, this scheme, in its main outlines, should survive for some time.

601 In the present review, the terminologies of the Kuki languages are first examined in some detail, after which attention is directed to the less well known Luhupa and Western Kuki subgroups. The Naga languages, though forming part of the Kukish group, are treated separately (pt. 16) for the sake of convenience.

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601 We are fortunate in having relatively good sources, and in some instances tables of kinship terms, for a number of the Kuki languages, including Lushei, Haka, Lakher, Thado, Siyin, and Sho. The sources utilized are listed below.

Central Kuki:

Lushei (Lorrain and Savidge); Haka or Lai (MacNabb, Newland, Webb, LSI); Laiyo or Zo (Webb); Shonshe (Scott); Hmar (LSI); Zahao (Stevenson, LSI); Banjogi and Pankhu (Lewin, LSI); Taungtha (Scott, Tin, LSI); Lakher or Mara (Hughes, Savidge, Parry).

Northern Kuki:

Thado (Hodson, Shaw, Hutton, Soppitt, Stewart, Butler, McCulloch, LSI); Siyin (Rundall, Naylor, Webb); Ralte and Paite (LSI

601 Old Kuki:

113 Rangkhol and Hallam (Soppitt, LSI); Bete (Soppitt, Stewart); Kyaw (Latter, Webb); Poeron (McCulloch); Anal (McCulloch, LSI); Langrong, Chiru, Kolhreng, Kom, Purum, and Lamgang (LSI); Vaiphei (Roy); Chawte (Roy, Hodson [1922]), Tarau (Hodson); Aimol (Bose, LSI).

Southern Kuki:

Khami (Latter, Hughes, Myaing, Pe, Houghton 1895a, Stilson, Webb, LSI); Sho (Houghton [1892, 1895b], Fryer, LSI); Chinbon (Webb, Pru, LSI); Chinbok (Webb, Scott, Tin); Yawdwin (Scott); Yindu and Anu (Webb); Ledu (Pru).

The distinctive pattern of the Kuki kinship terminology can be illustrated by almost any Kuki language selected at random, though numerous variations do occur. The Lushei nomenclature is not known quite so thoroughly as some of the others, but Lushei is the key language of the group, as noted above, and hence it is useful to have in mind the forms found in this language.

Lushei

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Lushei Consanguineal Terms

pi ggM, gM, MBW, MBD		pu ggF, gF, MB, MBS
nu M, MSi, FBW		pa F, FB, MSiH
ni FSi		
făr-nu Si(ms)	u oSb, pC	nu-ṭa B(ws)
lai-zon Si(ws)	nau ySb, pC	
fa-nu D, BD(ms)	fa Ch, BCh(ms)	fa-pa S, BS(ms)
	tu FSiCh, SiCh(ms), gCh	
tu-nu FSiD, SiD(ms), gD		tu-pa FSiS, SiS(ms), gS
vaˀ-nu BD(ws)	vaˀ BCh(ws)	vaˀ-pa BS(ws)

Lushei Affinal Terms

pi-zon WM, WSi		pu-zon WF, WB
nu HM		pa HF
pa-săl H		nu-pui
	u HoSb, oBW	
	nau HySb, yBW	
fa-nu HBD	fa HBCh	fa-pa HBS
tu-nu HSiD	tu HSiCh	tu-pa HSiS
mo SW, BW		mak-pa DH, SiH

Notes:

The paucity of terms is one of the most striking features of the system. Twelve primary roots appear in the consanguineal nomenclature (pi, pu, nu, pa, ni, far, ta, u, nau, fa, tu, vaˀ), and two more in the affinal (mo, mak). Most of these terms can be identified with Tibeto-Burman roots already encountered, viz. pi and pu for gM and gF, nu and pa for M and F; nau ySb;

601 tu xN (as in Burmish-Loloish). Fǎr-mu Si(ws) and fa Ch illustrate the Lushei shift from an initial sonant (z or dz) to f-; cf. Lushei faʔ "to feed", Tib. za-ba, Burmish-Loloish *dza "to eat"; fai "clean", Kachin tsai < *dzai; fal "separated, apart", Kachin tsan < *dzal, Barish *dzal "far"; fual "to sag", Tib. 'jol-ba < *jual "to hang down". Thus, fǎr-mu constitutes a direct link with Kachin jan < *jar Si(ms), and fa Ch with TB *za, id. Nu-ṭa E(ws) is written with a cerebral t, indicating an original cluster type of initial, probably tr- (an excessively rare combination in Kukish, hence one which cannot be well established). The obb term u can be compared only with Burmese u^3 used in combined terms for MB. The woman's xN term, vaʔ, must be reconstructed *was; cf. Lushei ruʔ "bone", Tib. rus-pa; Lushei raʔ "fruit", Tib. s-ras "child"; Lushei hniʔ "2", Tib. g-nyis; Lushei huʔ "wet", Tib. hus "moisture".

In the affinal terminology, mak-pa Sl is standard (TB *mag), while mo Dl corresponds to Meithei i-mau, id. The Tibetan cognate here seems to be mo "woman, female"; cf. Thado mau "woman", but mau pui "to marry" (pui has not been analyzed). Lushei final -o fits into the Kuki *-ou series, which narrowly approaches the *-au series. Thado ordinarily has -ou in the former, -au in the latter, but note Thado t'ou rather than *t'au "fat" in the table below.

	Bete	Lushei	Lakher	Thado
fly n.	i-t'oi	t'o	ma-t'eu	t'ou
white*	a-ngoi	ngo	ngeu	ngou

*Note: Bete "yellow", Thado "clean".

fat n.	t'ai	t'au	t'o	t'ou
younger Sb	nai	nau	no	nau
bamboo	ro-mai	mau	ro-mo	-

The two series have been confused in the roots *nau ySb and *nou, which in Lushei (in the form no) is defined as "the young of birds, animals; young, soft, tender". Siyin has no "to be little", nau-šen no "baby", and Lushei has nau-šen "baby", but Thado uses nou-šen rather than *nau-šen "baby". Lushei nau is used for "Ch" as well as for "ySb", especially in the combined term nau-pang, and the Old Kuki languages commonly replace the root *za Ch with *nau; cf. Langrong nai-pang Ch, nai-pa S, nai-nu D; Rangkhol nai-pang "boy", nai-nu-pang D, nai-te nai-pang Ch, while Hallam has both nai-nu-pang and sa-nu D, the latter corresponding to Lushei fa-nu (-ai < -au in these languages, as in Bete).

Lai-zon Si(ws) is almost certainly a periphrasis, but the analysis is uncertain; cf. lai-cin "a relation, a fellow clansman" (cin cannot be analyzed), and lai "centre, middle navel". The element -zon, which appears also in pu-zon WF and pi-zon WM, is perhaps the word zon "opposite to" (the Kukish root is *yon; Lushei z-   y-).

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Pa-săl H can be analyzed as a combination of pa F and săl "captive taken in war". The term is widespread in Kukish, often in the meaning "male, man" (e.g. in Thado), but the semantics are difficult to explain. The term is quite distinct from cŭl, the common masculine suffix, e.g. Siyin has pa-săl "husband, male", but tăl "masculine suffix" (Siyin t- < c-). Another widespread masculine suffix, used especially with the names of birds, is [illegible], which in Lushei means simply "old". Curiously enough, the TB root *la, ordinarily employed as a masculine suffix, in Kukish is applied to the "immature female of an animal" (Siyin); cf. Lushei nu-la "maiden, young woman". The feminine suffix *pwi, which appears in nu-pui I, is applied to animals who have had young; the same root is also semanticized "big", e.g. mei-pui "bonfire" (mei "fire"), mi-pui "multitude" (mi "man"). In the Kukish languages, then, it would seem that the notions of feminine maturity and pregnancy are closely associated.

Lushei and the Kuki languages in general appear to lack especial terms of any kind for relatives of the 3rd or higher ascending or descending generations. Lushei has only t'la?-tu "an ancestor, progenitor", t'la? "a descendant, posterity", connected with t'la? ~ t'lak (TB *k-lă) "to let go, let fall", employed as an affix in the meaning "to cause, beget" (note the reciprocity). Lushei also has the combined terms ci-t'la? "descendants, posterity", formed with ci "seed, sort, caste, clan" (Burmese tse? < tsi? "seed; [illegible]"), and hnaʔ-t'lak "descendants, various clans of a single tribe", formed with hnaʔ "leaf" (Burmese a-hná "petiole"). The former is paralleled in Lakher in the term ci-pa-t'la "posterity, a descendant", where pa- is the Lakher causative verbal prefix. Cf. also Khami a-mu "clan" (Stilson), Mikir and Lushei mu "seed".

The TB root *snam D1 is perhaps represented by Lushei hnăm "a clan, nation" (hnam-com "the common people"), Siyin năm "nation", Sho nam (Fryer), nan (Houghton) "village". Lushei, like Burmese, regularly unvoices initial nasals preceded by prefixed s-; cf. Lushei hmĭn "ripe", Tib. smin-pa; Lushei hnăp "snot", Tib. snabs. A possible analogy is furnished by Kachin da-ma, from TB *mag S1, used primarily with reference to the extended family group of a woman's husband (vide the discussion in pt. 7).

The most striking feature of the Lushei nomenclature is the classing of MBS with MB, MBD with MBW, and FSiCh with SiCh(ms), i.e. the 'Omaha' pattern. Note, however, that the terms used in the first two equations are properly gP terms, while the term used in the third equation is applied also to gCh. Pu is defined as "wife's male relation, one in charge of anything, a term of respect for a man", and pi as "wife's female relation, a term of respect for a women". Hence pu-son and pi-son are applied to "wife's parents", while the consanguineal terms pa and nu are used for "husband's parents". In the affinal terminology note also the equation of SW with BW (mo), and of DH with SiH (mak-pa).

Haka

601 The general pattern outlined above can be traced through all the Kuki languages, but not without numerous and sometimes extensive variations. Within the Kuki group proper, these variations attain their peak in the Southern Kuki speeches, especially in Khami. The Central Kuki languages conform to general type with the exception of Taungtha, which has been dealt with in connection with the Southern Kuki group. Taungtha in general is of transitional type, however, and hence these Southern Kuki features in its kinship terminology are not unexpected. Hmar, Banjogi, and Pankhu show no variations which require comment. The Zahao terminology, known only in part from the discussion by Stevenson (diagram on p. 20), has pa-seu FB, pa-pu MB, and nu-pu MBS, nu-pi MBD (for pa-seu, cf. Laiyo, infra). Zahac thus does make a distinction between MB (pa-pu) and MBS (nu-pu). Stevenson (p. 21) defines far-nu as "a classificatory term applying to sisters and female cousins on the patrilineal side", and this extension is also indicated in the Zahao diagram (a similar extension can be inferred for Lushei far-nu). The remaining languages, where sufficiently well known, are separately considered below. In each instance stress is placed on deviations from the general pattern.

Haka

Age distinctions appear in the PSb terms, viz.

(a-)nu-u	MoSi	(a-)pa-u	FoB
(a-)nu-nau	MySi	(a-)pa-nau	FyB

According to Webb, (k-)pu is used for MSiCh as well as for MBCh, while (k-)tu FSiCh has an alternative term (k-)ni fa (the analytical term). Mak-pa Si is replaced by (k-)tu, and mo Dl by (k-)fa, but the latter is retained in the meaning "BW" (of about same age as speaker).

The proposed root *tra (B(ws) is revealed in Haka (k-)tra B(ws), HB, (k-)nu-pi tra fa FBCh (nu-pi W), though Newland cites the form ta B (ta le făr "B and Si"). Webb also cites (k-)trang FSiH, while Newland has tang "elder male cousin, any elder male relative". We lack the Lushei term for FSiH, but can reconstruct the form *ṭang, with cerebral t, paralleling nu-ṭa B(ws). Haka supplies a valuable link with the term *rang (often prefixed) encountered elsewhere in Kuki. Despite the presence of this especial term for FSiH, Haka agrees with Lushei in using (k-)pa and (k-)nu for HF and HM, respectively.

Haka has a different term for H, viz. va ~ var. The form va is probably the correct one (it is cited in Webb), and can be equated with (k-)va BCh(ws), Lushei va'. MacNabb and Newland cite var, but the latter also gives var as a variant of va "bird", where the standard Kukish root is *wa. Shonshe, which regularly preserves final -r, has wa-pa H rather that *war-pa. The Haka material suggests that the Kukish root should be compared with TB *wa "male, father" (as in Kachin), and one is tempted to identify Kukish *wa "bird" with the same root, in view of the tendency shown by a number of Tibeto-Burman languages to use especial sex-suffixes

Laiyo

601 with names of birds (e.g. Burmese a-p'a' "father, masculine affix for birds"); cf. Lepcha vo < *wa H, fo < *p'a "bird", and yu "female, wife; expletive for bird".

Shonshe, to judge from what little is known of it, shows little variation from Haka. Reduplication, which is rare in Kukish, appears in the Shonshe terms pu-pu "uncle" and ni-ni "aunt".

Laiyo

The Laiyo nomenclature, as recorded by Webb, shows a remarkable development of analytical terms, often formed with the help of a genitive particle -wi ~ -i (Lushei -i). It is difficult to say to what extent these terms are merely artificial fabrications of natives attempting to satisfy the demands of the recorder, as opposed to expressions in current use. The fact that certain primary terms are preserved, however, leads us to believe that the terminology as reported in Webb is correct in most details. The orthography requires some interpretation, however, since 'tar' and 'far' are used for *ta and *fa, respectively, in the British distortion of our English orthography, though the latter may occasionally stand for *far. Several emendations of this type have been made in producing the tabulation below, and the terms have been divided in a manner calculated to make clear their analytical nature.

Laiyo Consanguineal Terms

pa nu FM		pa pa FF
nu-wi nu MM		nu-wi pa MF
nu M		pa F
nu-seau MSi		pa-seau FB
ni FSi		nu-ta-pa MB
nau-nu ySi(ws)	u oSb(ss)	nau-pa yB(ms)
far-nu-u-pa oSi(ms)		ta-pa-u-pa oB(ws)
far-nu-nau-ta ySi(ms)		ta-pa-nau-ta yB(ws)
tu-nu FSiD		tu-pa FSiS
	pa-seau fa-te FBCh	
	nu-u(-wi) fa-te MoBCh,MoSiCh	
	nu-nau(-wi) fa-te MyBCh,MySiCh	
fa-nu D		fa-pa S
u fa-nu BD(ms)		u fa-pa BS(ms)
	ta-pa fa BCh(ws)	
	far-nu fa-te SiCh(ms)	
		fa-pa fa-pa SS
		fa-nu fa-pa DS

Laiyo Affinal Terms

nu-pi nu WM	nu-pi pa WF
pa-sal nu HM	pa-sal pa HF
nu ta-pa nu-pi MBW	rang FSiH
nu-pi W	pa-sal H
ta-pa nu-pi BW(ws)	far-nu pa-sal SiH(ms)
fa-pa nu-pi SW	fa-nu pa-sal DH

Notes:

The individual elements are the same as those previously encountered, with pa-seau FB and nu-seau MSi corresponding to Zahao pa-seu FB (this element appears to be unrepresented in Lushei). The efflorescence of analytical terms, however, has radically altered the whole complexion of the terminology, with the complete loss of the important terms pu and pi and the consequent disappearance of all 'Omaha' features. It is significant that ni FSi, rang FSiH, and tu FSiCh should have been preserved while the rest of the nomenclature was undergoing these changes. Nu-u fa-te and nu-nau fa-te are to be interpreted simply as "mother's elder-sibling's child" and "mother's younger-sibling's child", respectively; cf. Haka nu-u MoSi, nu-nau MySi. Haka also equates MBCh and FSiCh, but in the primary term (k-)pu. Fa-te includes a new element -te, cognate with Lushei te "little"; cf. Shonshe huk-te Ch.

Most of the Laiyo terms are perfectly analytical and thus are exactly defined by the symbols that appear in the table, e.g. nu ta-pa is literally "MB", nu ta-pa nu-pi is literally "MBW". A similar tendency must be present in Haka, since Webb cites (k-)ni fa as an alternative term for FSiCh (oddly enough, this is one of the few relationships which Laiyo expresses through a primary term). Laiyo, which can scarcely be more than a dialect of Haka or Lai, thus presents a beautiful illustration of the influence of purely linguistic factors on kinship terminology.

Lakher

Lakher

601 The Lakher or Mara nomenclature closely parallels the Lushei-Haka system, but the similarity is in part obscured by the complicated phonetic shifts that the language has undergone. These changes, which involve almost all the finals, have in many instances resulted in the coalescence of originally distinct elements, making reconstruction difficult. Parry (pp. 240-43) gives the fullest set of terms and carefully distinguishes between vocative and descriptive terms, but the forms themselves must be checked against those in the Lakher dictionary by Savidge. Savidge also gives much information not found in Parry.

Lakher pu and pi exactly agree with the Lushei terms, according to Savidge. Pi is also cited in the verbal meaning "to become old". Parry, however, cites what appear to be descriptive terms, viz. ma-po gF, ma-nong (= ma-nau) gM, and Hughes gives ma-naung gM. As vocative terms, Parry gives pa-pa gF, ma-mi gM.

The descriptive parent terms are po F, nau M. Lakher has derived -o (written 'aw') from -a under certain conditions which have not yet been fully explained; cf. ngo < *nga "5", but nga < *nga (Lushei hnga) "fish"; so < *za (Lushei fa) Ch, but sa < *sa "flesh", and the vocative term (i-)pa F as contrasted with the descriptive term po. Nau M, written nong in Parry, is from Kukish *nu; Lakher ordinarily retains -u, but has -au ∼ -o after the nasals n- and m-, e.g.

hmo < *mu "seed"; pa-hmo < *mu "hawk"; hmau < *hmu "to see, get"; pa-nau < *nu "turbid". Parry cites (i-)na as the vocative term for "M", paralleling (i-)pa F.

As in Lushei, no especial terms are used for FB or MSi. In address, teknonymy is employed, either alone or in combination with the vocative term for P, e.g. i-pa Zahia po "my father, the father of Zahia" = "FB" (Zahia is name of eldest child); note the distinction made between (i-)pa and po.

Parry cites pa-pu MB,MBS (cf. Zahao) and pa-pi MBW, while Savidge, as indicated above, cites pu gF,MB,MBS and pi gM,MBW,MBD, as in Lushei. Parry further cites the vocative Sb terms, viz. a-u and i-di, for "FBCh", "FSiCh", and "MSiCh", with age distinctions as in the Sb terms, and notes that these terms may "very rarely" be applied to MBCh. Savidge, on the other hand, cites tu FSiCh, as in Lushei. One must suspect that Savidge, who was well acquainted with Lushei, was influenced by his knowledge of that language. Parry, however, does not cite the descriptive terms for "MBCh" or "FSiCh", hence Savidge's testimony cannot be rejected offhand.

The vocative Sb terms, as cited above, are a-u oSb and i-di ySb. The latter is perhaps cognate with Lushei te "little" (Laiyo fa-te Ch); cf. Lakher di "to crack a flea on the fingernail", Lushei de˥; Lakher ši "to bite, sting", Lushei še˥; Lakher pa-hni "to win", Lushei hne˥. The descriptive Sb terms are as follows:

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si-ta-nau	Si(ms)	u-ta	oSb(mws)	ri-pa-la	B(ws)
na-rau	Si(ws)	no-ta	ySb(mws)		

The arrangement of terms is the same as that found in Lushei, with an especial term for Si(ws) but none for B(ms). Note that u-ta and no-ta are both men's and women's terms, as are probably Lushei u and nau. The combination no-ta ySb is reminiscent of Laiyo nau-ta as used in the combined terms far-nu-nau-ta and ta-pa-nau-ta. Unlike Lushei, Haka, and Laiyo, the element ta < *tra is not employed in the meaning "B(ws)". The Lakher term for this relationship, viz. ri-pa-la (Parry ri-la-pa), contains a new element ri, which appears also in (i-)ri BS(ws), a vocative term. Lakher -no is from Kukish *nau; cf. t'o < *t'au "fat"; o < *au "to call"; ro-mo < *mau "bamboo". Lakher si- in si-ta-nau Si(ms) can be identified with Lushei fǎr(-nu); for the initial, cf. Lakher so, Lushei fa "son"; for the final, cf. Lakher t'i, Lushei t'ǎr "new". Na-rau (also na-rau-nau) Si(ws) is another new term, the original form of which cannot be reconstituted with any assurance. The corresponding Lushei term lai-zon may be represented by Lakher lai-sa "maiden, young woman". Both ri and nau appear in the phrase sa-no-ri-nau "a relation, a fellow clansman, a friend" (cf. sa-no-pi "family, household, near relations").

Both Parry and Savidge cite tu in the meaning "SiCh(ms)", but Savidge also defines the term as "gCh", as in Lushei, whereas Parry cites another term for gCh, viz. sa-mang-pa gS,

Thado

601 sa-mang-nong (= -nau) gD. Parry further cites sa-la-pa ggS, sa-ci-pa gggS (cf. ci-pa-t'la "descendants", from ci "seed"). The appearance of especial terms for ggCh and gggCh is most unusual for a Kuki language.

The Lakher affinal terminology conforms pretty much to Kuki type, with pa-pu WF, WoB (but WyB called by name), pa-pi WM, WBW, and nang-nang HM (= FSi), (i-)pa-ra-pa FSiH, HF. Lakher nang-nang (Savidge nang) FSi, WM is directly comparable with Lushei ni, the final having been secondarily nasalized after the initial n-; cf. Lakher nang "sun, day", Lushei ni; Lakher nang "2", Lushei hni. Pa-ra-pa includes the Kuki element *rang already encountered ; cf. ma < *mang "dream"; a-ra < *rang "horse"; ba < *bang "to stop, cease" ; ca < *cang "hard, ripe". Savidge cites mang-nau WM, WSi, perhaps for *nang-nau. Meu-nau SW, BW(ws) is from *mou-nu (Lushei mo); cf. ma-t'eu-pa "fly", Lushei t'o; pa-t'eu "to arise, awake", Lushei t'o; šaeu "to boil", Lushei šo; ngeu "white", Lushei ngo. According to Parry, the son-in-law is called only by name (both in address and reference), yet Savidge cites the term tu-pa-pa DH, SiH, from tu-pa SiS(ms); cf. Haka (k-)tu Si. Lakher a-wa-pa H agrees with Haka (va) rather than Lushei (pa-săl). La-pi-nau W is from *pui-nu, plus an unidentified prefixed element.

Thado

The Thado terms have been fairly well recorded in Hutton and Shaw (in Appendix C, by Hutton), while numerous other sources of lesser value are available. In most respects the

Thado system closely agrees with the Lushei-Haka system, and even the forms themselves exhibit only minor discrepancies, e.g. oa Ch for fa < *za. Separate terms for B(ws) and Si(ms) have not been recorded, but we cannot be sure that such do not exist in the language. A sharp distinction is made between terms applied to relatives older than speaker, prefixed with the honorific particle he-, and those applied to relatives younger than speaker, prefixed with ka- ("my"), e.g. he-u oSb but ka-nau ySb.

The cousin terminology is of Lushei-Haka type, viz. pu gF,MB,MBS, and (ka-)tu FSiCh,SiCh,gCh (note that u oSb is sometimes applied to FSiCh(os) "by courtesy"). MBD, however, is equated not with gM,MBW (pi) but with MSi (nu-nga). Nu-nga is also used for FBW (nu M in address), and for WSi,WBD, but only if these kin are of the speaker's mother's clan, i.e. if the speaker has married his MBD. In other words, WSi is equated with MBD only when WSi is MBD through cross-cousin marriage. This principle is consistently applied throughout the Thado affinal terminology. Thus, the terms pi WM (= MBW), pu WF (= MB), ni HM (= FSi), and gang HF (= FSiH) are used only under conditions of cross-cousin marriages, pa F and nu M being employed under other conditions. One must suspect that this same difference obtains elsewhere in the Kuki group, but the point is brought out only in the Thado material.

The element -nga of nu-nga MSi also appears in pa-nga, defined by Hutton as "father's cousin on father's side". Butler cites (he-)nu-nga "MB", (he-)pa-nga "FB", also "aunt". Hutton

601 (in Shaw, note 1 to p. 141) connects this element with the -nga of bong-nga "cow-herd" (bong "cow"), whence he infers a Thado root *nga "to watch over, tend". We may further connect this verbal root with Haka hngak "to look after, guard, watch, take care of", also "to wait"; Lushei hngak, Siyin ngak "to wait"; for the loss of the final velar stop, cf. Thado ba "bat", Lushei bak; Thado ta "body", Lushei tăk-sa; Thado po "to carry", Lushei puăk; Thado vo "to beat", Lushei vuăk. The connection of the kinship term with this verbal root, however, is not altogether certain. Siyin has ngak-nu "girl, maiden, damsel", and in Old Kuki we find Rangkhol ga-pui-nak MySi (nak for *ngak), Chiru a-nu-ngak M, Kyaw pin-ngak MSi, pon-ngak FB, and Vaiphei pa-ngak FyB, nu-ngak MySi. This material suggests that the root *ngak has a basic signification of "young", and this view is supported by the statement made by Bose (p. 9) in re Aimol, viz. 'nga' is added to words denoting younger (as contrasted with 'ter').

Thado gang FSiH,HF, Siyin ngan (= ngang) FSiH represent the root *rang already encountered in Central Kuki; cf. the following table:

	Kuki	Lushei	Thado	Siyin
FSiH	*rang	-	gang	ngang
bowels	*rĭl	rĭl	gil	ngil
snake	*rul	rul	gul	ngul
steal	*ruk	ruk	gu	ngu

Siyin

601 Thado has distinct Sp terms, viz. yi ~ ji, yi-nu ~ ji-nu W, yi-pa H (latter in Hodson only); cf. Kachin yi ~ wi "female", ša-yi ~ ša-wi "woman, wife". According to Hutton (in Shaw, p. 140), a woman addresses her husband by the name of his first child, of whichever sex, to which -pa is suffixed, i.e. "father of so-and-so". We lack the Thado terms for Sl and Dl; Hutton (in Shaw, p. 142) indicates that the personal name is used. Thado mau "woman" (used in the phrase mau pui "to marry"), however, is cognate with Lushei mo "bride, Dl" (supra). Hodson has the mysterious entry ma-pa "uncle", unlike any term recorded by Hutton. Since Thado often drops final -k (vide supra), we may compare this term with Lushei mak-pa Sl. This comparison is strongly supported by the Siyin evidence outlined below.

Siyin

Siyin, the second and last Northern Kuki language to be considered, resembles Thado in most respects yet has its individual features, some of which are purely phonetic, e.g. ta Ch, Thado ca, Lushei fa. The Siyin distinction between pa-lien FoB (lien "large") and pa-no FyB (no "small") parallels Thado pa-len FoB, pa-neu FyB (descriptive only). Webb cites pa-niu FB, nu-niu MSi, of uncertain interpretation. Siyin has yi ~ ži W, as in Thado, but pa-sal H (Thado pa-sal "male", yi-pa H).

The Siyin affinal terminology presents several problems. Mak-pa (written 'mark-pa' in Webb) is used for MSiH as well as for Sl,SiH(ms); cf. Thado ma-pa < *mak-pa "uncle". Pu is used

601 for gF,MB,MBS, as in Thado, but pi appears only in the meaning "gM", having been replaced by son-nu in the meanings "MBW", "WM", and "WBD". Similarly, pu has been replaced by son-pa in the meanings "WF", "WB", and "WBS". Naylor, on the other hand, cites both mak-pa and sŭng-pa (= son-pa) for Bl,Fl, and sŭng-nu (= son-nu) for Sil,Ml. This element son ~ sung is perhaps identical to the word sŭng-a "inside", but no good comparisons can be suggested. Siyin also has especial terms for a woman's HP, viz. to-pa-sal HF (pa-sal H), to-nu-pi HM (cf. Kuki *nu-pui W); the to- element cannot be analyzed. It is apparent that Siyin avoids making categorical equations in the SpP terms. Siyin has the standard Kuki Dl term, viz. mo-nu Dl, mo HSi,BW(ws).

Naylor records a distinction between ta-sel Ne (ta Ch), and nu-sel Ni (cf. ta-nu Ch), while Webb cites tu-pa SiS(ms), tu-nu SiD(ms), but ta BCh(ws), i.e. xN(ws) is equated with Ch, contrary to the Central Kuki pattern (our Thado material does not cover this point). Naylor gives tu-son rather than tu gCh (cf. son ~ sǔng, supra), and cites the interesting reciprocal term tu-k'an ta-k'an "descendant; ancestor", where a play has been made on the secondarily developed alliteration in tu (< *tu) gCh and ta (< *za) Ch. Note also the term pu-te pa-te "ancestor" (pu gF, pa F).

Old Kuki

197
601 Relatively little material is available for the numerous Old Kuki dialects. Only Kyaw (Webb), Chawte (Roy, Hodson),

Kyaw

197 601 Vaiphei (Roy), and Aimol (Bose) are known in sufficient detail to merit individual attention. Soppitt's grammar and vocabulary of Rangkhol offers little of value. Note, however, the unusual Rangkhol terms šum-pa yB, šum-šuŏk Wo, the latter apparently containing the word šuŏk "slave" (Thado souk). The Kuki root *te "little, child" is represented by Rangkhol dong-ma-te "girl", nai-te-nai-peng "child".

601 Sex distinctions in the Sb terms have not been recorded for any of the Old Kuki languages, but Lushei far-nu < *dzar Si(ms) is almost everywhere present in the meaning "Si" (perhaps actually Si,ms), viz. Langrong far-nu, Purum, Chiru sarr-nu, Hallam, Kom sar-nu, Kolhreng carr-nu, Aimol car-nu, Lamgang (a-)car, Anal a-cal; for Anal a-cal, cf. Anal hăl < *ar "hen", k'al < *k'ar "window". Peoron has a-wu (= a-u) oB, a-nau yB, but a-wa oSi, sa-nu ySi, the last apparently from Kuki *za-nu D.

Kyaw

[101] The Kyaw (= Chaw) are a small Old Kuki tribe in the Arakan hills, far to the south of the main body of the Old Kuki peoples, as shown on the diagram above. According to the tradition recounted in Hughes (p. 16), they were offered by a Burmese queen as pagoda slaves some three hundred and fifty years ago. The Kyaw terminology, as recorded by Webb and Latter, differs notably from that of the other Old Kuki tribes, perhaps because of this relatively long period of separation.

Vaiphei

601 Kyaw pon-ngak FB, pin-ngak MSi contain the *ngak element already encountered in Thado and Siyin. Kyaw has final -e for -i in the terms (ka-)ne HM (but ka-no FSi, probably by error for ka-ne), (ka-)pe gM, and na-pwe W (Latter na-poi W; cf. toi < *tui "water"). In contrast to (ka-)pu gF and (ka-)pe gM, Kyaw has tara-pu MB,WF and tara-pe MBW,WM, where tara- seems to represent the Kukish root *tra B(ws); cf. the analytical Laiyo term nu ta-pa MB. Kyaw mrun FSiH,HF perhaps stands for Kuki *m-rang, but appears to have been influenced by Khami prun < *mrun, id. Note also Kyaw ma-sal (Latter m-cal) H in place of the standard Kuki *pa-sal.

Cross-cousins are distinguished in the terms (ka-)wei MBCh, (ka-)m-wei FSiCh,WB,SiH(ms), neither of which can be placed. Kyaw equates Dl with WBCh (ra-wa), and Sl with SiCh(ms),HSiCh (sa-măk). These terms are to be compared with Lushei wa˺ BCh(ws) and mak-pa Sl, respectively. Kyaw further equates yB(ms) with S in the term sa-pa; cf. Poeron sa-nu ySi, from Kuki *za-nu D.

Vaiphei

The Vaiphei nomenclature presents still another variation of the stable Kuki system. Pa-ngak FyB (but pa FoB = F) and nu-ngak MySi (but nu MoSi = M) are reminiscent of Thado, as is zi-nu W. Note also the Thado-like forms ca Ch and gang FSiH,HF. Unlike Thado, which equates MBD with MSi (nu-nga), Vaiphei has pi gM,MBW,MBD and pu gF,MB,MBS, as in Lushei. Yet Vaiphei equates BCh(ws) with FyBCh (nau), in

601 contrast to tu-pa FSiS,SiS(ms),gS, i.e. xM(ws) is equated with pC. Roy cites u-pa oB, nau-nu ySi, and nau-pa yB,oSi, a most unusual type of arrangement (cf. the Chawte Sb terms, infra).

The affinal terminology is of normal type, with retention of the terms mo-nu Dl (cited by mistake as "DH") and mak-ta Sl,SiH(ms). Nu and pa are cited as alternative terms for ni HM and gang HF, respectively, the latter set probably used only under conditions of cross-cousin marriage (vide the Thado discussion). Vaiphei tar-pu-nu WF, tar-pu-pa WB, and tar-pi-nu WM appear to be identical to Kyaw tara-pu and tara-pe (supra), suggesting a metathesis tar < *tra (tara). A root tar "old (in age)" appears in the Kuki group (e.g. Lushei tăr), and it is possible that the above terms have been derived from this root rather than from *tra B(ws). Cf. also Aimol ter, which is added to words denoting elder (Bose, p. 9), and Rangkhol ga-pa-ter "uncle" (ga-pa F). The initial cluster tr- is so rare in Kukish, however, that the matter cannot be settled on phonological grounds.

Chawte

The Chawte terminology as recorded by Roy shows many striking departures from the Kuki systems previously examined, and even on purely internal evidence one would be inclined to mistrust this material. These suspicions are strengthened when one reads (Roy, p. 154) that the information was obtained in "broken Hindi" from a Vaiphei informant

601 who knew no Chawte, the conversation between the Vaiphei and Chawte natives being held in Meithei, a language which presumably neither fully commanded! This employment of a Vaiphei informant also explains the relatively satisfactory record of the Vaiphei nomenclature.

We are fortunate in having a check on Roy's material in the short Chawte and Tarau lists presented in Hodson, 1922 (p. 94). Both are of conventional Kuki type, viz. Chawte pu MB,WF; pi MBW,WM; ni FSi,HM; rang FSiH, a-rang HF; Tarau pu-te MB, pu WF; pi-te MBW, pi WM; ni FSi,HM; ma-rang FSiH,HF (Hodson notes that "te is a plural form"). Roy, however, cites (a-)pu as gF,MB,HF,WF,FSiH, and (a-)pi as gM,HM,WM, thus confusing a number of distinct terms, while the root *rang appears only in the term a-rang-a HyB.

In view of the above discrepancies, the material presented by Roy cannot be regarded as trustworthy, and the following observations based thereon must be duly discounted.

Both the PSb and Sb terms present aberrant features. Roy cites a-te FoB,MoSi (i.e. PoSb), a-nu-te MySi,FBW, and a-tum FyB; cf. the Tarau suffix -te (supra), explained by Hodson as a "plural form" (Lushei has tĕ as a plural suffix, also tē "little"). The Chawte Sb and collateral terms cited by Roy are so remarkable that they merit tabulation, depite the fact that they may be partly or wholly erroneous.

Aimol

601

ai-ya	oSi(mws),xCi(os)	a-ya	B(ms),xCo(ms)
(ka-)nau-nu	ySi(mws),xCi(ys)	(ka-)nau-pa	B(ws),xCo(ws)
ai-va	FSiD(ms)	a-va	FSiS(ws)
(ka-)c'uau	BCh(mws)		
(ka-)tu	SiCh(mws),gCh		

It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that this arrangement is unparalleled within Kukish, probably even within Tibeto-Burman. Yet one can also readily see how a few mistaken definitions might have distorted an ordinary Kuki-type arrangement almost beyond recognition. The roots *ya and *c'uau differ from any previously encountered in Kukish, but cf. Meithei ya-ma oB. The root *va is apparently related to Lushei va' BCh(ws), but note its use here in the meaning FSiCh(ds).

In the affinal nomenclature, Chawte has no Dl, as in most Kuki languages, but (ka-)tu-pa Sl, as in Haka.

Aimol

The Aimol terminology, recorded rather fully by Bose, is of straight Kuki type in most respects, yet shows some odd deviations. Above all, (ka-)pu is used for FSiS (= gF,MB) and (ka-)tu-pa for MBS (= SiS,gS), i.e. precisely the reverse of the Kuki system. One would wish for a check on this point before accepting it in full. Aimol (a-)ou (= a-u) oSb is also applied to FSiCh(os),MSiCh(os); cf. Thadu u (supra). Note also the equation of FBCh and SbCh (probably pN) with Ch (ka-nai < *nau).

601 The affinal nomenclature includes (ka-)pu WF, (ka-)pi WM (ordinary Kuki pattern), and (ka-)tar-pu HF, (ka-)tar-pi HM, HoBW (as in Kyaw and Chawte). This additional Aimol evidence suggests that the root involved here is *tar "old" rather than *tra B(ws). Aimol is unusual in preserving both the Dl and Sl terms, viz. (ka-)moi-nu Dl (< *mou), (ka-)map-pa Sl (< *mak-pa, through assimilation). The root *rang FSiH,HF is found only in (ka-)moi-rang HB,BW (probably ms, making this a reciprocal term); cf. Chawte a-rang-a HyB. On the semantic side, cf. Lushei pu-zon WF,WB, etc. Bose cites (ka-)car-nu in the meaning "SiH", but the LSI gives car-nu Si (probably ms), agreeing with the other Kuki languages, and Bose's definition must be provisionally rejected.

Southern Kuki

197
601 The Southern Kuki terminologies show the maximum number of differences from the Central, Northern, and Old Kuki terminologies discussed above. Aside from Sho, the Southern Kuki languages are not well known, and much of our material has been taken from the census report by Webb and the word-lists in Scott. Yindu and Anu are known only from the terms listed by Webb. In view of this dearth of general linguistic information, our analysis of most of these terminologies must be confined to singling out some of the more obvious points.

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Kuki-Lushai AR8
Taungtha
Yawdwin

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Taungtha

Taungtha, which presents both Central and Southern Kuki features, is something of a puzzle. The Taungtha have come under Chinbok influence (cf. the discussion in Tin), but their speech is devoid of any specifically Chinbok features. Taungtha i M can be compared with the Northern Kuki root *yi W. The terms pa-lin "uncle" and i-lin "aunt" are to be interpreted "FoB" and "MoSi" (lin "big", Lushei lian). Taungtha θit < si' oSi is connected with Sho and Chinbon si; cf. θa S, θa-mi D (the latter perhaps influenced by Burmese sa-mi^3, pronounced θa-mi^3). The LSI cites the terms θet-mu ySi, θet-mu-len oSi (len = lin "big"). Taungtha a-te Ch (also "young") is from the Kuki root *te "little, child". Of far greater interest than any of the above, however, is the term lwi Ne,Ni, perhaps from *m-li (Taungtha does not preserve prefixes), which fits with the Nung-Burmese root *m-li gCh, Konyak li xN. The term is so isolated here, however, that one hesitates to draw any final conclusions, yet we do have a parallel in Yindu (ka-)li BD(ws). Taungtha wa H agrees with Haka and Lakher, but u W represents the Kuki root *u oSb in a novel setting (cf. Mru u M).

Yawdwin

Yawdwin is of general Chinbok-Yindu type, to judge from the meagre material available. Puk-tum "uncle" and nuk-tum "aunt", formed with (a-)tum "large", are of the same type as Taungtha pa-lin, i-lin (supra), but with a Southern Kuki

Chinbok

601 rather than Central Kuki element. The Sb terms, viz. ka-pe oB, ka-pe-nu oSi, and ka-nu yB, paik-θa ySi, are typically Southern Kuki. Yawdwin pu-k'o Fl, pyi-k'o Ml, from Kuki *pu and *pi, respectively, contain an unanalyzed affixed element -k'o.

Chinbok

Chinbok is perhaps the most representative of all the Southern Kuki languages, but the material is difficult to analyze, partly because of our deficient knowledge of the language. The terms cited in Webb have been freely interpreted in drawing up the tabulation below, in which all the forms have been normalized (Webb confuses initial surds and sonants, s- and θ-, final o and u, etc.). The ka- ("my") prefix has been dropped, and the medial element -k- treated as an adjectival prefix; cf. bak-tum "uncle", mik-tum "aunt" (Scott), formed with ak-tum "big".

601

Chinbok Consanguineal Terms

pi-šrö	MM
nu pa	FM
nu	M
dai-za k-döm	MoSi
dai-za	MySi,MSiD,MBD
ni-ko	FoSi
ko-za	FySi
pai	oSi(ws)
be	oSi(ms)
nau hmu-mi	ySi(ws)
be hmo	ySi(ms)
za k-hmu-mi	FBD
tu hmu-mi	FSiD
tu hmu	SiD(ms)
za k-hmu	BD(ws),SiD(ws)
za hmu-mi	D

pu-šrö	FF,MF,MoB
pa	F
pa k-döm	FoB
pa k-cwi	FyB
pu-ko	MyB
pwe	oB(ms)
beng wai	oB(ws)
nau	yB(ms)
beng hmo	yB(ws)
pu-za	MSiS
za k-hmo	FBS
pu-ko-za	MBS
tu	FSiS,SiS
za n-šuan	SiS(ws)
za k-wai	BS(ws)
za	S
n-šuan	SS
za k-hmu n-šuan	DS

Chinbok Affinal Terms

pi-šrö	WM,HM
pi-ko	MoBW
pi-ko-za	MyBW
ni-ko	HoSi
ni-ko hmo	HySi
za hmu-mi	Dl

k-we	WF,WoB
pu-šrö	HF
hmak	FSiH,SiH(mws),WySiH
k-we hmo	WyB
tu k-we	Sl

601 **Notes:**

The extraordinary development of age distinctions and the complete absence of neuter terms are the most striking traits of this Chinbok nomenclature. These combined terms showing age distinctions are formed with k-dŏm (Scott k-tum, from a-k-tum "big"), k-ewi (unanalyzed, but apparently "little"), -ko (also unanalyzed), and -za (from za Ch, in diminutive sense; cf. Nyi Lolo). The distinction of age even in the terms for MB and FSi is especially noteworthy. Note that only MoB is equated with gF (pu-šrŏ), indicating the honorific nature of this equation. Ko-za FySi stands for *ni-ko-za. The separate term for FM (written ka-nu ka-ba, apparently from ka-nu M and ka-ba F but in reverse order) is paralleled elsewhere in Southern Kuki (Yindu, Anu).

The eight-term Sb nomenclature contains only one recognizable element, viz. nau yB, from Kuki *nau ySb. Pai oSi is comparable with Maru pai oSi, Burmese a-pai "madam", but little can be made of the remaining terms. Hmo is perhaps used in a diminutive sense; cf. za k-hmo FBS. Scott cites kap-p'we oB, kap-pe oSi.

The separate gCh terms, viz. n-šuan SS and za k-hnu ~~n-šuan~~ DS, constitute another Chinbok innovation. The latter term, which is formed with the element za k-hnu SbD(ws), presents a partial equation of the type represented by Kuki tu SiCh,gCh. Webb writes ka-n-šuan gS, ka-za k-hnu n-šuan gD, but ka-za n-šuan SiS(ws), and ka-dai-za k-p-šrum WBiD; cf. Rangkhol šum-pa yB, šum-šuŏk Ne.

Yindu

601 The collateral terminology exhibits 'Omaha' features, but in modified form. Note that MBD is equated with MySi (dai-za ~ dai-θa as written in Webb), whereas MBS (pu-ko-za) is a diminutive of MyB (pu-ko). FSiS and SiS(ms) are equated (ka-tu ~ ka-du as written in Webb), while tu k-hnu FSiD is semantically equivalent to tu hmu-mi FSiD (hmu is perhaps only a variant of hnu). Note that the maternal collateral lines tend to be equated (dai-za MSiD,MBD, and pu-za MSiS, pu-ko-za MBS). Za k-wai BS(ws) can be compared with Kyaw (ka-)wei MBCh, (ka-)m-wei FSiCh. The affinal element k-we is perhaps only a variant of k-wai.

In the affinal terminology, note pu-šrö HF rather than WF; hmak FSiH,SiH but tu k-we Sl; za hmu-mi Dl (= D), probably a vocative term; ni-ko HoSi (= FoSi), but pi-šrö HM.

Yindu

The Yindu nomenclature is of general Chinbok type, but with some Sho features, e.g. the development of final -o from -a, as in (ka-)po F, (ka-)zo S. Age distinctions are made in the PSb and Sb terminology, much as in Chinbok.

pa	oSi(ws)	pwe	oB(ms)
pa-ö	oSi(ms)	pe-ö	oB(ws)
ba k-sung	ySi(ws)	n-ka-bwi	yB(ms)
ba k-ši-ö	ySi(ms)	pe-zö	yB(ws)

Pwe oB(ms) is identical with the Chinbok term pwe, but the remaining Sb terms are distinct. The element -sung also appears in (ka-)pu k-sung-zo MyB, where zo Ch functions as a diminutive suffix. For the element -ši, cf. (ka-)pi k-šwi MyBW, and Chinbok pa k-owi FyB. A third affixed element, -bwi, is found in (ka-)bwi-ŏ FyB, and apparently also in (ka-)pa-bwi MM.

Yindu further resembles Chinbok in distinguishing between (ka-)pu-bu MoB,WF and (ka-)pu k-sung-zo MyB, and between (ka-)pi-bi MoBW,WM and (ka-)pi k-šwi MyBW. The gP terms, however, are distinct, viz. (ka-)mo FF,MF, also FoB, (ka-)pa-bwi MM, and (ka-)hnu-bo FM, the latter distinction occurring also in Chinbok (supra).

A new term *zi, found also in Sho, is represented by (ka-)zi FySi, (ka-)zi-ŏ FoSi. According to the material in Webb, (ka-)zi is also used for FBD and HF, (ka-)zi-ŏ for HM. The equation FySi = HF is puzzling, but FoSi = HM conforms to the general Kuki pattern.

The term (ka-)du (= ka-tu) is applied to FSiD,SiS(mws),DS, while for SS the analytical term (ka-)zo a-zo is employed. The corresponding feminine terms, however, are kang-mo FSiD, ka-du ba-zo SiD(ms) (the gD terms are not given). The Chinbok affinal element k-we also appears in Yindu, but in a different setting, viz. (ka-)k-we-zo MBS,WB,WSiH,SiH(mws), also Si (Chinbok tu k-we Si). The Yindu material suggests that the root is *kwe rather than *k-we, but comparative material is lacking. The term has conceivably been borrowed from Shan (k'we), but the distinctive Shan combined terms are not present; contrast the Kadu loan-words pi-kwe SiH, lok-kwe, based on Shan pi-k'we and luk-k'we, respectively. It will be

Sho

601 noted that one-half the 'Omaha' features have been eliminated through the employment of this new term (ka-pa-ku MBS, WF, but ka-kwe-so [illegible]). A distinct term, ka-m-lung-sa, is used for MBD. The term cited for DL is ka-[illegible], probably "wife of son"; cf. Chinbok su (Webb ka-k-su) "wife".

Yindu (ka-)li BD(ws) has been mentioned above in connection with Taungtha and Ma,Hl. No other traces of this root have been uncovered in Southern Kuki.

Sho

197 Sho or Khyeng includes two main dialect groups, a northern and a southern. The latter dialect, spoken in Sandoway District, has been described by Houghton (1892) and Fryer, while the former is known only from word-lists in Houghton (1895b) and the LSI (the 'Thayetmyo Chin' 601 dialect belongs in this group). The tabulation below is based on the Sandoway dialect.

Sho Consanguineal Terms

(a-)nü mon-s'o	ggM	(a-)pŏ mon-s'o	ggF
(a-)pŏ s'an-nü	gM	(a-)pŏ	gF
(a-)nü (a-)ü	M	(a-)po	F
(a-)ü-hlän	MoSi	pa-hlän	FoB, MoSiH
(a-)ü-t'oi	MySi	pa-t'oi	FyB, MySiH
(a-)si	FoSi	(a-)pu	MoB
(a-)si-mlik	FySi	(a-)pu-mlik	MyB
		(a-)ta	oB
(a-)nü-bi	Si	(a-)nau-ü	yB
s'o-nü	D, oBD	s'o	S, oBS
(a-)tü-nü	SiD, yBD, gD	(a-)tü	SiS, yBS, gS

Sho Affinal Terms

(a-)pŏ	WM, MBW	(a-)pu	WF
p'a-ya	W	p'o-wa	H
(a-)si	WoSi, oBW	in-goi-hlän	WoB, oSiH
(a-)nau-hni	WySi, yBW	in-goi-mlik	WyB, ySiH
(a-)hmö-ü	WBW		
no	Di	(a-)tü	Si

Notes:

Sho has final -o for -a (as in Yindu) and final -ü for -u; cf. a-po F, s'o S; a-nü and a-ü M (Houghton writes a-u M, but Fryer cites the form a-ü), a-tü SiS, gS. Both -a and -u may be retained, however, though the factors involved here are not understood; cf. a-ta oB; a-pu MoB.

60! A-pŏ is often used as the neuter t[illegible]or gP, according to Houghton, the affixed element s'an-nü merely standing for "old woman" (s'an-bo "old man"). Thus is explained the term a-pŏ WM, MBW, for which a-pŏ s'an-nü is cited as an alternative. The form itself is not easy to explain, since the short final -ŏ, entirely distinct from ordinary -o (< -a), is a rare element. Fryer often has -ŏk where Houghton has -ŏ, e.g. a-pŏk gF for a-pŏ, a-yŏk "corpse" for a-yŏ, wŏk "pig" for wŏ; cf. also Minbu (northern Sho dialect) a-pŏ gF, but a-pŏt "aunt" (= a-pŏ MBW). It will be noted that a-pŏ has replaced both *pu gF and *pi gM, the former surviving only in the meanings "MoB", "WF". In view of the undoubted Burmese influence on Sho, it is not unlikely that this term has at least been influenced by Burmese a-p'ui^3 ~ a-b'ui^3 gF, pronounced a-bo^3. In addition to the terms just discussed, Minbu also has pa-nu gM (lit. "father's mother") and pak-to gF (unanalyzed). Sho is exceptional in having especial terms for ggM and ggF, formed with the element mon-s'o "a relation", apparently derived from mon "an owner, a person" (e.g. nan-mon "a villager", from nan "village") and a-s'o "clan". This term for "clan" seems to be identical to the Arakanese term o-sa, id., cited in Mills (supra, pt. 9); one may derive it either from TB *sa "flesh" or TB *za Ch, the former being the more likely solution.

Sho has both a-nü M, from the regular Kuki root *nu, and a-ü M, agreeing with Mru a-u (cf. also Taungtha u "wife").

601 Age distinctions appear in the PSb terms, as elsewhere in Southern Kuki; note that ü rather than nü is employed in the MSi terms, also that po F becomes pa in combination (unstressed position). The affixed element -hlăn is of Kuki origin (Lushai liăn, Sho hlăn "big"), while -mlik is the Sho word mlik (Houghton), mlek (Fryer) "small". The writer has already compared this word with Burmese mrats < *m-lik "ggCh" (the root seems not to be of Kukish provenance). Finally, -t'oi is to be regarded as a loan-word from Burmese t'we^3, as it appears in p'ă-t'we^3 FyB, mĭ-t'we^3 MySi. The borrowing has been made, however, from one of the archaic Arakanese dialects which preserve final -wi (> -we in standard Burmese), since Sho -oi sometimes corresponds to Kuki -ui (= -wi), as in a-toi "egg" < *tui, noi "to laugh" < *nui. In Burmese loan-words, -oi is substituted both for -we (< -wi) and -wai; cf. loi "to be easy" < Burmese lwai; poi "a feast" < Burmese pwai^3; woih "eddy" < Burmese wai^3; and moi "to bear (children)" < Burmese mwe^3; moi "to be happy" < Burmese mwe'.

The term a-si FoSi has completely ousted the Kuki root *ni, which does not appear in any of the Sho material. Fryer cites a-si as "oSi" rather than as "FoSi", and the term shows a similar extension in Chinbon (infra), while Yindu has (ka-)si FSi,FBD. Extra-Kukish comparisons are furnished by Kadu a-si MSi (i-si "woman") and Nung a-si gM (cf. Kuki *pu gF,MB).

The Sb terms are much simpler than those in use among other Southern Kuki groups. Houghton explains a-nü-bi Si as "other mother" (bi "other"), but the LSI cites the form be Si, 601 and the term must be compared with Chinbok be oSi(ms). Fryer draws a distinction between a-si oSi (= FoSi) and [illegible]-nau-be ySi (a-nau yB), while Thayetmyo Chin (northern Sho dialect) has na-bi eSi, na-au (= nau) ySi (= yB). Note a-ta oB, as elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman, as contrasted with the Kukish term *tra B(ws).

Of the collateral nomenclature we have only a-tü SiS (probably ms), gS, which conforms to the Kuki pattern. The stress on age distinctions, however, has resulted in the equation of oBS with S, yBS with SiS, and of oBD with D, yBD with SiD, partially breaking down the demarcation between the parallel and cross collateral lines. Sho thus furnishes a good illustration of the overriding of a basic kinship pattern by a secondary principle. Houghton states that "cousins are called brothers and sisters", but offers no details, hence we cannot be sure that both cross and parallel cousins are included.

The affinal terms a-pŏ WM, MBW and a-pu WF are of Kuki type (the HM and HF terms are not cited), while a-tü Sl (= SiS) has also been encountered (e.g. in Haka). No Dl, cited only in Houghton, 1895b, cannot be explained. Sho a-nau-hni WySi, yBW points to a basic meaning "ySb" for the term a-nau (cf. Thayetmyo Chin, supra). In the closely related Chinbon language, the same term (ka-nau-hni) is used for "Dl". The element in-goi in the terms for WB (note the age distinctions) appears to contain the word in "house" (Lushai ĭn), but

Chinbon

601 -goi cannot be analyzed Sho a-hmŏ-u WBW, Chinbon ka-hmŏ BW(ws), are cognate with Lushei mo (Kukish *mou) SW,BW; cf. a-lŏ "taungya" (field), Lushei lo; dŏ "to go to meet", Lushei do "to go or be out"; lŏ-e "to bring, take", Lushei lo "to pluck", also "verbal prefix signifying motion towards the speaker"; sŏ "to dig", Lushei co "to dig a hole"; t'ŏ "to rise, awake", Lushei t'o; p'ŏ "to put out to dry", Lushei p'o.

Sho p'o-wa (also p'o-ha) H includes the Kuki root *wa H (as in Haka), perhaps plus the element p'o "old". Sho also has the alternative term lang H, used only in the phrase lang-p'a-ya "H and W", which can be placed as a loan from Burmese lang-mă-ya^3, id. Sho appears to avoid the combination of m- before initial y-, but does allow p- in this position, as in pa-yo "bird", pa-yü "rat". It would thus seem that the Burmese term mă-ya^3 has been altered in order to conform with Sho phonemic patterns.

Chinbon

[197] Chinbon belongs in the Sho group, e.g. it shows the same shift from final -a to -o (ka-po F, ka-zo S), but appears to have been less influenced by Burmese and in general it possesses more points of contact with the other Southern Kuki groups. The simple Sb nomenclature, however, is specifically of Sho type, viz. (ka-)t'a oB, (ka-)si oSi, (ka-)nau ySb. Age distinctions are made in the FB terms, viz. (ka-)po-lin FoB (= Sho pa-hlăn), (ka-)po-šwi FyB (cf. Chinbok pa k-cwi, id.). FSi and MSi are equated in the term (ka-)zi, which corresponds

601 to Sho a-si FoSi. The Chinbon term is probably identical to (ka-)si oSi, Sho a-si, id. (in Fryer). An interesting distinction is made between (ka-)pu MyB (Sho a-pu) and (ka-)mu-bok MoB, probably identical to (ka-)mo-pauk gF.

The gP terms (ka-)mo-pauk gF (pauk, in Pru) and (ka-)mo gM are reminiscent both of Sho (a-pŏk ~ a-pŏ gF,gM) and Yindu (ka-mo gF). Ledu has mwa gM = Chinbon mo; cf. Ledu pwa F = Chinbon po.

Our fuller information on the collateral nomenclature of Chinbon shows that the Kuki 'Omaha' features are retained, whence we can infer that they are also present in the closely related Sho terminology. Chinbon has (ka-)tu FSiCh,SiCh(ms), gCh, also Si (cf. Sho a-tŭ), and (ka-)pu MyB,MoBS,WBS, while MyBS is equated with WB in the term (ka-)goi (Sho in-goi WB).

In the affinal terminology, WF is equated with gF (ka-mo-pauk) rather than with MB, and WM is equated with gM (ka-mo) rather than with MoBW (ka-mok) or MyBW (ka-mo-t'a; cf. ka-t'a oB). Chinbon further equates HM with FSi (ka-zi), but employs a new term for HF,WSiH,SiH(ws), viz. ka-ze, apparently connected with ka-ze MBD; cf. also Sho a-se-zan WoSiH (note the parallelism in ka-zi ~ ka-ze). Chinbon ka-mok, apparently based on Kuki *mak Si,SiH, is applied to FBW,MoBW,MoSiH; it is probably the same term as ka-hmauk FSiH and ko-hmauk SiH(ms). There is no trace of the Kukish root *rang FSiH,HF in the Sho-Chinbon group.

Anu

601 Anu, which is known only from the list of kinship terms in Webb, stands somewhat closer to Khami than any of the Southern Kuki languages previously examined. Final -i has been replaced by -e, as in (a-k'a-)ne FSi, pe MM. The record of Sb terms is not altogether clear, but it is apparent that they are of Southern Kuki type, e.g. ta at oB(ms), pa e oSi(ws), hnau yB(ms). The gP terms show further Southern Kuki affinities, viz. pu FF,MF, nu FM (= M), pe MM. The categorical equations are typically Kuki, viz. pu gF,MB, pu u WF,WB; pe MM, pe e WM (but pa e MBW = oSi,ws); (a-k'a-)ne FSi, ne HM. The element e in the terms pe e, pa e can be compared with Taungtha i M (Anu -e < -i). Significantly enough, Anu has a separate term, run, for FSiH,HF, which corresponds to Kyaw m-run, Khami p-run < *m-run (infra). This term is probably to be connected with the Kuki root *rang, as in Tarau (Old Kuki) ma-rang, but the relationship cannot be demonstrated on phonetic grounds.

The most noteworthy Anu feature, however, is the term su, which is used for FSiCh,MBCh,ySi(ws),SiCh(ws),HSiCh,gS and appears also in a-su-lai SiCh(ms). This term covers some of the same ground as Kukish *tu, but includes also MBCh (i.e. a single term is applied to both types of xC) as well as ySi(ws). The only likely comparison is with Kachin su, Mikir and Meithei su gCh, since a phonetic development t- > s- is highly improbable. Anu su cannot in any sense be regarded as a link between the TB roots *su and *tu, despite its isolated appearance here in Southern Kuki.

Khami

601 The Kukish root *mak Si is retained in the form mok, but Anu ya-wa D1 seems to be connected with Kyaw ra-wa, id., and cf. Anu a-wa H.

Khami

191 Khami is the most aberrant of the Southern Kuki languages and at the same time the most difficult to handle. Despite the relatively large number of Khami sources, none of the available material affords an adequate basis for an analysis of the language. Khami is spoken in two primary dialects, viz. a northern (Ayaing) and a southern (Awa), which are really distinct speeches, and in a number of sub-dialects. Material on both dialects is presented by Pe, Myaing, and Webb (Kami list on p. lxvii is Ayaing Khami, Mro list on same page is Awa Khami). The Ayaing Khami material is the more consistent, hence the terms from this dialect have been selected for tabulation. 601

Ayaing Khami Consanguineal Terms

		(a-)um-si	gP		
neik	M			nga-ai	F
nik-to	MSi			nga-ai-hmo	FB
(a-)ni	FSi			um-pu	MB
		yik	oSb		
		um-bai	ySb,pC,BCh(ws)		
		mok-sa	FSiCh,SiCh(ms)		
		nat-sa	MBCh		
		(ka-)tu	SiCh(ws),gS		
sa-nok	D			sa-po	S,BCh(ms)

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Ayaing Khami Affinal Terms

um-pe MBW,WM
(a-)ni HM
(a-)yu W

um-pu WF
p-run FSiH,HF
yo-o H

um-bai Sil(ms),Bl(ws)

tek-so HSi
(a-)mok BW(ws)
sin-ngo Dl(ms)
lin-ngo Dl(ws)

nat-sa WB,SiH(ms)

mok-sa Sl

Notes:

At first glance the Khami nomenclature appears to bear little resemblance to the Kuki terminology, but a number of Kuki features appear on closer investigation and others have doubtless been disguised by the unorthodox Khami phonetic behaviour. The single gP term is cited both by Webb (a-um-si) and Pe (na-si), while Myaing cites a-um-si MF,MM, bum-su FF,FM (for -si, cf. Thado ta-si "old", in Shaw, text, p. 107, ta-si-pu "old man"). Awa Khami has pa-we gF, pa-e gM. Kukish *pu gF,MB is preserved in the term um-pu MB, perhaps from *u-pu (cf. um-bai ySb), and Houghton cites pu-u gF for Awa Khami. The Awa Khami list in Webb has pa-we gF,MB. Phonetically this form parallels pa-e gM, na-e FSi, and na-pe ySi(ms), all from the Awa dialect; Pe cites pi-e gM, na-i "aunt" , na-pi yB. Exactly how these terms were developed from Kuki *pi and *ni cannot be stated, though the -e < -i shift can be traced in other Awa Khami words, e.g. ma-le < *ba-li "4".

The Khami parent terms are different from any previously encountered in Southern Kuki, and little can be made of the FB and MSi terms. Neik M stands for neiˀ (pe ne, LSI neˀ), Awa Khami na-we ~ na-ăi. The form na-ăi is cited by Stilson, whose record of Khami (Awa) is the most accurate that we have. Stilson also cites măi "fish" < Kukish *me "flesh", as contrasted with māi "fire" < Kukish *mei, a-ma-lāi "tongue" < Kukish *ma-lei, hence we can regard the root as *ne rather than *nei. According to the LSI, na-ai (= nga-ai) F is used only in address, the descriptive term being am-p'o (< *a-p'ɔ; cf. um-pu < *u-pu MB); Houghton cites am-po F without comment. This term is from the Kuki root *p'a or *pa, for Ayaing, unlike Awa, has developed final -o from -a, e.g. ho < *ha "tooth", lo < *la "moon", and contrast Ayaing sa-po S, Awa sa-pa. The Kukish root *nu M is found in Awa sa-nu D, Ayaing sa-nok (cf. neik < *ne M).

The two Sb terms yik (Pe yaik) and um-bai are matched by Awa Khami ya-at oSb, na-pe ySb (Webb); cf. pa-at F. One of the roots appears to be *ya (plus a suffixed element); cf. Pe ya-aˀ, Houghton ya-ă oB, LSI ya, Houghton am-yo < *am-ya B; cf. Chawte a-ya B(ms), Meithei ya-ma oB.

The Kuki 'Omaha' features do not appear in Khami in typical form, since (ka-)tu is applied to SiCh(ws) rather than to SiCh(ms), while the (properly affinal) term mauk-sa (< Kuki *mak Sl, WB) is applied both to FSiCh and to SiCh(ms), i.e. Ayaing Khami has reversed the widespread Kuki practice of applying tu SiS(ms) to Sl (equated through cross-cousin marriage).

Luhupa
Tangkhul

601 Awa Khami has mauk-pe FSiCh SiH(ms), mauk-sa Sl, but a distinct term lo-k'e SiCh(ms). Both Ayaing and Awa have a separate term for MBCh (Ayaing nat-sa, Awa ma-kon), the former appearing also as an affinal term (the correct form is *nai-sa, to judge from nai-sa ~ nai-tsa Bl, cited by Pe and Houghton, respectively).

The categorical equations are of Kuki type, including the employment of a separate term for FSiH,HF; for Ayaing p-run < *m-run (cf. Ayaing pa-lai, Awa a-ma-lai "tongue"; Ayaing pa-lung, Awa a-ma-lung "heart"), cf. Kyaw m-run, Anu run, and perhaps Tarau ma-rang, Kuki *rang (vide the discussion supra). Awa Khami has puk-pre FSiH,HF = B(ms), and cf. pa-pre WB,WBCh (Stilson cites pro-pri B). The distinction between Dl(ms) and Dl(ws) appears also in Myaing's record of Awa Khami, in the terms lein-ngo Dl(ms), nein-nge Dl(ws), but Myaing cites a single term, na-sein, for Ayaing, and Webb cites ma-sein Dl for Awa. The elements involved cannot be analyzed, and it is uncertain whether the distinction really exists or is simply the result of poor recording.

Luhupa

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601 The Luhupa languages are the first outside the Kuki group proper to be examined. Tangkhul, which exists in a number of well marked dialects, constitutes the core of this group, while Maring-Khoibu forms a bridge to Kuki proper. Of the Tangkhul dialects, Ukhrul is by far the best known through the voluminous but badly organized dictionary by

197 Pettigrew, as well as by the supplementary account in the LSI. 601 Three other Tangkhul dialects, viz. Khangoi, Phadang, and Kupome, have been recorded by McCulloch. Our Maring material likewise comes from McCulloch and the LSI. Khoibu and Champhang are too little known to merit consideration in this review.

601 The Maring terms include the following: (nai-)pa F, (nai-)pui M, mo-mo oB, nau yB, čar Si, ca-u-pa S, ca-nu-pui-a D. The use of the Kuki feminine affix *pui in the meaning "M" is typical of both the Luhupa and Western Kuki groups; McCulloch cites pa-wa F, wa M, the latter apparently a distinct term. Čar Si is probably a man's term, as in Kuki proper; cf. a-čar "his Si" in sentence no. 225 of the LSI (but kai-čal ySi in the LSI word-lists). Of the above terms, only mo-mo oB has not been previously encountered.

The Tangkhul terminology is difficult to analyze, largely because of the nature of our sources. Pettigrew cites so many variant forms for the Ukhrul dialect, often with discrepancies in the English-Tangkhul and Tangkhul-English vocabularies, and defines the terms so badly, that one is forced to select both forms and meanings. Furthermore, the forms cited in the LSI for the same dialect (Ukhrul) sometimes disagree with those in Pettigrew. The Khangoi, Phadang, and Kupome dialectical material is of only minor assistances. The following tabulation, therefore, is presented with some reservations.

Tangkhul (Ukhrul) Consanguineal Terms

(a-)yi ggM,gM,MBW	(a-)wŏ ggF,gF,MB
(a-)vă M	(a-)va F
(a-)vă k'ă-răr MoSi	(a-)va k'ă-răr FoB
(a-)vă ka-tui MySi	(a-)va ka-tui FyB
(a-)ni FSi	
(i-ša-)oei nga-la-vă oSi	(i-ša-)oei oB
(a-)zăr-vă Si(ms)	
(i-ci-)nau-vă Si(ws)	
(a-)ka-tui-vă ySi	(i-)kă-tŏ yB,Ne
(i-)ră FSiCh,SiCh,gCh	
(a-)nau nga-la-vă D	(a-)nau ma-yar-ă S

Tangkhul (Ukhrul) Affinal Terms

(a-)ni Ml	(a-)wŏ Fl
(a-)prei-vă W	(a-)ka-hăr-ă H
(a-)mui HSi,BW	(i-)mak WB,SiH
(i-)ră HSiCh,WBCh	
(i-)ri-ha-vă Dl	(i-)ri-ha Sl

Notes:

In general pattern the Kuki affinities of the Tangkhul nomenclature are unmistakable, but the terms themselves offer some difficulties. All the gP and P terms require investigation. The latter can be derived from Kuki *pa F and *pui "female", since the initial stop is preserved in Kupome a-pa F, a-p'ŏ M (a-ja p'ŏ ySi, a-ne ni-p'u D, as contrasted with a-se ni-pa S). Final -ui is not preserved in Ukhrul, which

601 may have -ă, as in k'ă-mă-nă "to laugh" < Kukish *ma-nui, and p'ă-ră "snake" < Kukish *pa-rul via *pa-rui, or -û (a mixed vowel), as in fû "dog" < Kukish *ui ~ *k'ui, and mă-hwû "elephant" < Kukish *ma-wi ~ *ma-k'wi; cf. Kachin gwi "dog", ma-gwi "elephant". Phadang, which preserves final -ui, has (i-)ui M, nui "to laugh". Note the perfect parallelism in the following roots:

	Kukish	Ukhrul	Khangoi	Kupome	Phadang
mother	*pui	a-vă	a-wu	a-p'ŏ̈	i-ui
snake	*pa-rui (pa-rul)	p'ă-ră	p'u-ru	p'rŏ̈	p'ui

Tangkhul thus follows the general Luhupa and Western Kuki pattern in using the root *pui (Ukhrul vă) both for "M" and as a feminine affix, at the sacrifice of the root *nu.

Ukhrul (a-)yi gM and (a-)wŏ gF are not so easily identified, though it is tempting to derive them from Kukish *pi and *pu, respectively. Other possibilities exist, however, e.g. the former may be connected with the Northern Kuki root *yi "woman, wife", and the latter with Kuki *u oSb. In this connection note Burmese u^3 MB, also "head", and Ukhrul kui < *ku "head", TB *ku MB. Ukhrul final -ŏ is almost as rare as final -ă, our only good comparison being Ukhrul ci-kŏ "9", Kuki *kua, comparing with Tib. go as used in go-gcig "91", yet some Kukish forms may have been derived from the regular TB root *d-gu (Tib. dgu, Kachin ja-k'u), e.g. Ao tă-ku, Sema tu-ku, Empeo su-gui. Ukhrul has k'û "village" < Kukish *k'ua, further indicating a development -ŏ < -u rather than -ŏ < -ua.

601 Still another possibility exists, viz. that Ukhrul (a-)wŏ may reflect a variant of the standard root *pu, as represented also by Sho pŏ ~ pŏk gF (supra), and cf. the Tibetan dialectical term a-po gF.

In the PSb terminology, the grouping of MB with gF (a-wŏ), of MBW with gM (a-yi), and the retention of a seperate FSi term (a-ni), are Kuki features. The age distinctions in the MSi and FB terms are also of Kuki type, but different elements are involved. K'ă-răr is connected with k'ă-răr-ă "elder, adult, old", but ka-tui (or ga-tui) does not exist as an independent element in Ukhrul. A comparison can be made with Kachin doi and Burmese t'we^3, used in the same sense as Ukhrul (in all three languages the combined terms are also used for "stepfather" and "stepmother"), and can be further extended to include Lushei tuai "of medium growth, not full grown", toi "short" (Lushei has several -uai ~ -oi doublets). Tangkhul final -ui corresponds to Lushei -uai ~ -oi, as in k'ui "bee", Lushei k'uai ~ k'oi, and k'ă-ngă-hui "to fade", Lushei uai, and Kachin -oi to Burmese -we (vide pt. 9). Note that the Tangkhul element ka-tui also appears in (a-)ka-tui-vă ySi (as defined in LSI; Pettigrew gives Si,Sil), while one must suspect that (i-)ka-tŏ (written i-ga-tŏ) yB is simply a variant of the same element; cf. Khangoi (i-)ka-do, Kupome (e-)ka-dau-a, and Phadang (i-)tau yB, Khangoi (i-)ca-do ySi.

Three roots can be distinguished in the Ukhrul Sb terms, viz. *cei oSb, *zăr Si(ws), and *nau ySb, which appear in Pettigrew's dictionary in various combinations. To the terms cited above, add the following: (a-)cei Bl,Ne, also "name given to all, male and female, below the rank of chiefs"; (a-)cei-vă Si,Sil; cei-ci-nau "brethern"; ci-nau-ni "cousins" (ni is dual suffix); căr-pa ci-nau "brothers and sisters" (a-căr-vă is given as a variant of a-zăr-vă Si,ms); zăr-pa-ni "B and Si". The LSI cites the form (a-)cai oSi, and Khangoi has (i-)joi oSi, but cei is the basic form, since TB final -ei is preserved in Ukhrul, e.g. t'ei "fruit", mei "fire". This is a non-Kuki root, but is widespread in Western Kuki.

A curious "infix" šа ~ ci occurs in (i-ša-)cei oB, (i-ci-)nau-vă Si(ws), cei-ci-nau "brethern", etc. The LSI (p. 465) makes the following remark in this connection (apparently based on communication from Pettigrew, who contributed the Ukhrul text):

> The insertion of sha or shi [= ci] in this connexion refers to direct relatives and is used, Mr. Pettigrew supposes, to distinguish between real relations, and those who are not.

This interesting suggestion cannot be further developed because of lack of material.

An additional Tangkhul Sb term is represented by Ukhrul (a-)ma (in LSI only), Khangoi (a-)ma, Kupome (a-)mai, Phadang (i-)mi oB. Inasmuch as Pettigrew does not cite this term, it is difficult to fix its affiliations. If the LSI citation is correct, a root *mui is indicated (vide the discussion supra), but the other dialectical forms point rather to *mei (cf. Khangoi a-t'a, Kupome t'ai, Phadang t'i "fruit"= Tangkhul t'ei).

601

The replacement of the Kukish root *za Ch by *nau ySb represents the peak of a development already noted in Old Kuki. Ukhrul nau (also written no) is defined as "common gender form for the infant or the young" (Pettigrew, p. 7), also as "young, young ones, children". The terms for "S" and "D" are formed with the sex-suffixes ma-yar-ǎ (masc.) and nga-la-vă ~ nga-la (fem.). Ma-yar-ǎ has not been analyzed, but nga-la includes the Kukish root *la used as a feminine suffix for names of animals (immature), in Lushei appearing only in the term nu-la "maiden".

The term (i-)ră ~ (a-)ră FSiCh, SiCh, gCh indicates that the Ukhrul collateral nomenclature is of 'Omaha' type as found in the Kuki languages proper. To make the parallelism with Kuki complete, (a-)wŏ would have to be extended to include MBS as well as MB, but Pettigrew does not cite any term for MBCh. On the analogy of vă < *pui M, the form (i-)ră must be derived from a root *rui, yet phonetically this word is identical with a-rǎ "bone" (both are on low tone), from *rus (Tib. rus-pa, Lushei ru'), and distinct from a-ră "liquid" (on high tone). The initial r- appears to have played a role here, since final -u is usually represented by -ui (infra).

The Ukhrul affinal terminology shows the typical Kuki equations Ml = FSi and Fl = MB (apparently applied both to HP and WP). The roots *mak and *mou are used only in the meanings "Bl" and "Sil", respectively; cf. Lushei mak-pa DH, SiH, mo SW, BW. Ukhrul final -ui regularly represents Kukish -u, as in a-hui "skin", Mikir hu and tui "word, 601 language", Kukish *t'u, but may also stand for -uai ~ -oi (vide supra) and for -au (Lushei -o). In the following table Ukhrul -ui corresponds to Tibetan -o, Kachin -au, Lushei -o, and Meithei -au.

	Tibetan	Kachin	Lushei	Meithei	Ukhrul
BW	mo*	-	mo	i-mau	a-mui
field	-	-	lo	lau	lui
to fry	rngo	kă-ngau	-	-	k'ă-ngui

*Note: Tib. mo "female"

The term (ị-)rị-ha S1 (also D1 on p. 132 of English-Tangkhul vocabulary) does not yield to analysis. It is perhaps the same term as (ị-)ră S1Ch, with an original final -i preserved because of the presence of a final affixed element (cf. a-ră "liquid", tă-ră "water", Burmese re < *ri, Tsangli ri "water").

The following Tangkhul (Ukhrul) terms are worthy of notice in view of what we already have seen of Tibeto-Burman semasiology: a-t'ei ~ t'ei "fruit" (TB *sei), vû-t'ei "seed, family, relations" (vû has not been analyzed), a-t'ei a-sa "seed, progeny, offspring, descendants, relations on the female side" (a-sa "flesh; cf. semantic associations of Tib. ša); a-ši "blood, family" (TB *šă-wi "blood"), a-ši-t'ei "genealogy, pedigree", a-ši-šim "abode, home" (šim < TB *k'yim "house"); a-ši-šăng-nau "relative, connexion"; a-šăng "herd", a-šăng a-răm "khel (section of village containing a number of families)", šăng-nau "lineage, khel", šăng-kui "penis" (kui "head

Western Kuki

601 [197]

For the five languages which have been classified under the above title we have only scattered and incomplete material. Western Kuki as a whole tends to link the Kuki and Luhupa languages with the Naga languages to the north, hence this lacuna in our data is particularly regrettable. The affinities of the kinship terms in this group are somewhat obscured by the peculiar phonetic shifts found here, but the Kuki resemblances are sufficiently well marked. The sources employed in the discussion below are as follows: Empeo (Soppit, Stewart, Butler); Kabui (McCulloch and LSI); Khoirao (McCulloch and LSI); Maram (McCulloch); Kwoireng (McCulloch). In McCulloch's work, the identifications are: Koupooee Songboo (Kabui), Tukaime (Khoirao), Muram (Maram), and Leeyang or Quoireng (Kwoireng).

As in Luhupa, the Kuki feminine affix *pui is used for "M", viz. Empeo, Kabui, Maram, Kwoireng a-pui, Khoirao pui M. Kukish *nu is retained in Kabui (hai-)nu, Kabui nau, Empeo (ba-)nau "wife" (cf. Empeo jau < Kukish *yu "liquor"). All five languages have the regular root *pa F, but with the bizarre set of Western Kuki correspondences for final -a, viz. Khoirao -a, Empeo -eu, Kabui and Maram -u, Kwoireng -yu.

	Kukish	Khoirao	Empeo	Kabui	Maram	Kwoireng
father	*pa	a-pa	a-peu	a-pu	a-p'u	a-pyu
five	*ba-nga	ma-nga	mi-ngeu	pa-ngu	mi-ngu	ma-ngyu
eat	*dza	ta	teu	tu	tu	tyu

We have almost no information on PSb terms in Western Kuki. For Empeo, Soppitt cites (ba-)peu "uncle" and (a-)bui

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601 (= a-pui) "aunt", indicating that the F and M terms are extended to include FB and MSi. For the same language, Butler cites a-na "aunt", which can be compared with Kukish *ni FSi; cf. Empeo ga-na "2" < *g-ni ~ *g-nis; Empeo se-na "7" < *s-ni ~ *s-nis.

The Luhupa term *cai oSb is found in all the Western Kuki languages, viz. Empeo a-si B, a-si-pui Si; Kabui a-cai oB, a-cai-pi oSi (a-cai also oSi in McCulloch); Khoirao cai oB, oSi; Maram a-ti-pui oSi, ySi (uncertain); Kwoireng a-ci oB, oSi. The phonetic correspondences are regular; cf. Empeo mi, Kwoireng ca-mi, Kabui mai "fire" < TB *mei; Kwoireng pă-mi, Kabui kă-mai "tail" < TB *r-mei; Kwoireng pă-si, Kabui kă-t'ai "fruit" < TB *sei.

Lushei făr-nu < *dzăr Si(ws) occurs in Western Kuki with the suffix -pui (pui = Lushei nu M) and in the meaning "ySi" (cf. Tib. sring-mo, Kachin jan), viz. Kabui a-tăn-pui, Khoirao (hai-)tam-bui, Kwoireng a-tăn-pui ySi (for Khoirao the LSI cites the meaning "Si", but comparison with the material in McCulloch shows that "ySi" is the correct meaning). The initial t- from an original sonant spirant or affricate (z-, dz-) is regular for Western Kuki; cf. the root for "eat" cited above. The replacement of final -r by -n is another standard Western Kuki feature; cf. Khoirao ca-găn, Kwoireng ca-ghan "star", Tib. skar-ma; Kabui, Kwoireng, Khoirao yon "to sell", Lushei zuar < *yuar; Kabui ta-kon, Khoirao ta-gon, Kwoireng ca-gon "horse", Lushei sa-kor (< Indic ghoṛa).

601 The root *nau ySb is also represented in Western Kuki, generally in the meaning "Ch", as in Luhupa; cf. Khoirao (hai-)nau B (LSI), a-nau yB (McCulloch), (hai-)nau ca-pa-mi S (ca-pa-mi "man"), (hai-)nau sa-nui-mi D (sa-nui-mi "woman") (McCulloch cites ca-nui-nau D, ca-pa-nau S); Kabui a-na-pu S, a-na-pui D; Kwoireng a-na m-pyu mai S, a-na m-pui mai D; Maram a-na sa-p'u-ne S, a-na sa-pui-ne D; Empeo a-na Ch, ba-na "babe", ha-na-me "boy" (for the -a < -au developme[illegible] in these languages, cf. Kwoireng pă-sa, Kabui kă-t'a "f[illegible] TB *pau). This root also appears in Empeo a-ki-na Si, K[illegible]i a-kai-na yB (cf. Empeo a-si B, Kabui a-cai oB).

Nothing is known of the Western Kuki affinal nomenclature, except for the lone Empeo term a-li-pui SiL, cited by Butler. The consanguineal terminology, however, insofar as it is known, stands unexpectedly close to that of the Luhupa group (Tangkhul), especially in the use of the root *pui for "M" and in the appearance of the term *cai oSb.

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Before discussing the clan organization and marriage regulations of the Kuki peoples it should not be amiss to point out some of the generalizations that emerge from the complex mass of linguistic material analyzed above. The outstanding Kuki feature, of course, is the 'Omaha' type of collateral nomenclature, of a specialized variety in which MBS is equated with MB and gF, and FSiS with SiS and gS. This system is subject to numerous variations and can even disappear on occasion, yet it attains a much greater development

601 than the writer could have foreseen after completing general work in Kuki linguistics. Age distinctions are prominent throughout, and analytical tendencies are in evidence, with their peak attained in Laiyo (Central Kuki). The numerous aberrant features of the Southern Kuki terminologies are in accord with the general linguistic picture. Very few new roots have been noted, the most conspicuous being *rang FSiH,FF and *tra B(ws), the latter a somewhat questionable entity.

Our ethnographic material on the Kuki tribes is of a varied nature, yet relatively full for all except the Southern Kuki groups. The best general account is that in Shakespear, who devotes most of his attention to the Lushei. Another useful general account is given by Carey and Tuck, while the best single monographs are those of Parry on the Lakher, and Shaw on the Thado (the latter with valuable notes by Hutton). For the Old Kuki tribes we have material from Shakespear, Mills, and several Indian ethnologists. Hodson's general work on the Manipur tribes, which is based in good measure on an earlier and little known account by R. Brown (Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. LXXVIII, 1870), provides some all too meagre data on the Luhupa (Tangkhul and Maring) and Kabui (Western Kuki group).

Patrilineal descent reckoning seems to be universal throughout the area under consideration, and probably patrilineal residence as well, though the latter is seldom

601 specified. The preference for patrilocal residence is reflected in the interesting Lushai term mo-ŏal "daughter's or sister's husband who goes to live in his wife's house", lit. "male bride"! Son-in-law service is general among the Old Kuki, and there are indications that residence may be temporarily matrilocal in other groups. The latter is best exemplified by the Sho practice described by Fryer (p. 42):

> When a young man wishes to court a girl, he visits her by appointment at night in her parents' dwelling, taking with him some trifling present; if subsequently approved by the parents, he lives in the house. After some months, and indeed if poor, after the birth of one or two children, the ceremony of taking the girl to his house takes place amid much feasting and dancing.

Stevenson has given us an excellent account of the factors connected with choice of residence among the Zahau, a Central Kuki tribe. Stevenson points out that though descent, succession, and inheritance are patrilineal, a man is closely bound through numerous social obligations to his salu zawn, a group including his mother's brothers, wife's brothers, and sister's households (cf. Zahau pa-pu MB, nu-pu MBS, WB) and naturally prefers to have this group near at hand, for convenience in attending to kinship reciprocities. Marrying within the village is one solution to the problem, and has led to the village endogamy noted by Stevenson, but the alternative solution of migration to the wife's village also occurs, especially after quarrels have arisen with the patrilineal kin group.

The bachelor's house (Lushai zawlbuk) is another widespread feature, though lacking among some groups, e.g. the

601 Thado, Kom, Vaiphei, Purum. Where the bachelor's house is lacking, the young unmarried men usually sleep either in the houses of rich men or in the houses of unmarried girls (see the discussion in Gupta). In the Old Kuki area, at any rate, there is a conscious avoidance of having an unmarried brother and sister sleep under a single roof; both Gupta and Shakespear (p. 152) see in this avoidance a fear of incest. As throughout the Tibeto-Burman area in general, pre-marital sexual laxity is much in evidence.

Clan exogamy prevails everywhere except in the central area of the Lushai and Chin Hills, i.e. among the Central Kuki groups, and perhaps among the Southern Kuki tribes, though our data here are too meagre to permit of definite conclusions. A sharp contrast exists between politically powerful groups such as the Lushei or Lakher, with emphasis on wealth and social distinctions, and the small, democratic Old Kuki tribes. It is the latter among whom the complicated patterns of clan exogamy are found (infra). Simple clan exogamy probably is practised by the Northern Kuki tribes, certainly among the Thado (Shaw, Appendix C by Hutton). For the Siyin we have only the statement in Carey and Tuck (p. 189) that "The four clans of the Siyin tribe intermarry". The same authors also state of the "Chin" (perhaps Haka) that they "understand that it is unwise for those too closely related to marry" (p. 168). Of the Lakher, Parry states that it is not ana ("tabu") to marry within the clan, yet he notes that "marriages within the clan seem less frequent", and concludes that "it seems probable that formerly an exogamous system was in vogue" (p. 232).

601

The categorical equstions in the Kuki kinship terminology indicate the unilateral type of cross-cousin marriage (with MBD), and for this we have ample evidence. This practice exists even among the Central Kuki, though apparently not in typical form. Shakespear's description of the Lushei practices is worth quoting at some length:

> The Lushais have wide views as to matrimony. A young man is not hampered in his choice by any table of prohibited degrees, nor is his choice confined to any particular family or clan; in fact, he can practically marry any woman he chooses except his sister or his mother [in the account of the Lushei in the Census of India, 1901, Vol. IV, Assam, also by Shakespear, "daughter" and "aunt" are included in this list]. There is, however, a certain amount of prejudice against first cousins on the father's side marrying, but the reason generally given for this is that when a girl's parents have to consider the question of marriage they naturally try to dispose of her outside the family, in order that her price may increase the wealth of the family, not merely transfer it from one brother to another. I have, however, been told that girls object to marrying their "brothers" [classificatory, Lushei u and nau, hence FBS and not MBS]. Among the chiefs the desire to marry another chief's daughter limits the young man's choice, and marriage among first cousins is more frequent than among commoners. (p. 50)

It is clear that Shakespear has in mind marriage with FBD, which is certainly not a genuine Kuki trait. The same general statement is made of the Paite, a Northern Kuki tribe:

> The marriages of paternal first cousins are allowed - in fact, among chiefs they are the rule. (p. 143)

The Lushei and Paite practice, largely confined to the ruling clans, seems to have resulted from the breakdown of clan exogamy, and has nothing in common with the typical cross-cousin marriage with MBD, as found among the Thado and other Kuki peoples.

601 Our Thado sources constitute a good illustration of the discrepancies often encountered in material of this sort. In the first account of the Thado (called "Kookie"), by Lieutenant Stewart, we find the statement (p. 640) that "The most strict rules exist forbidding too close intermarriage in families; cousins cannot be so allied". Shakespear, writing over half a century later, qualifies Stewart's conclusion with the remark: "My enquiries tend to show that at present the prohibition only extends to paternal cousins to the third generation" (p. 198). Actually, the Thado have the typical form of marriage with MBD, which has been described by Hutton (in Shaw, Appendix C):

> The Thado are patrilineal and exogamous and their terms of relationship are of course classificatory. The proper marriage for a man is with his mother's brother's daughter, while that preferred for a girl is with her father's sister's son. The latter however is much less important. But marriage of a girl to her mother's brother's son is prohibited, and marriage into the mother's clan is eschewed for women for at least two generations as a rule. (p. 140)

Cross-cousin marriage cannot be established for any of the remaining Central or Northern Kuki tribes, but this negative evidence cannot be regarded as of much significance. The especial role of the mother's brother in Lushei and Lakher, however, strongly suggests an original avunculate pattern with marriage to MBD. The essentially honorific nature of the Kuki term *pu gF,MB,MBS is apparent wherever adequate material is available. Thus, Lushei pu is defined as "one in charge of anything, a term of respect for a man", and of Thado he-pu (with honorific prefix) Hutton (1922, p. 110) makes the following comment:

601 *Hepu* is a term of very great respect, and if used outside its genealogical applicability, would only be so used to very old or great men, to whom it was desired to show particular respect.

Lakher appears to have many features of a true avunculate, but without marriage to MBD, if we can trust Parry's account. The MB and MBW (Lakher pa-pu and pa-pi, respectively) are rated almost on a par with one's parents, and FSi (na-nang) and FSiH (pe-ra-pa) are next in order of respect. Parry offers the following description of the avunculate relationship:

> The most striking feature of Lakher relationship is the very close connection between the maternal uncle (*pupa*) and his nieces (*tunongnong*) and nephews (*tupang*). The maternal uncle is regarded as very nearly as closely related to a person as his parents, and is treated with deep respect and veneration, and has definite rights and privileges. When a girl marries, her *puma* [MB's portion of marriage price; cf. *pupa*] is payable to her maternal uncle, and the *puma* is often larger than a father's share in his daughter's price, as he has to divide up his share with his sons, the bride's brothers. When a man dies his death du (*ru*) is payable to his maternal uncle, who is also entitled to a share in any wild animals shot by his nephews......He is also bound to help his nephews and nieces if they are in distress, and it is to him that they turn for help even more than to their parents, and vice versa. At a funeral it is the *pupa*, the maternal uncle, of his son who plays the leading part, calls out the names of deceased's ancestors......It is absolutely prohibited for a nephew to marry his deceased *pupa*'s widow... ...(p. 244)

Parry indicates (p. 245) that a similar situation obtains among the Lushei, and further traces are found among the Zahau (vide the discussion supra). Though the inference of cross-cousin marriage from especial position or functions of mother's brother is perhaps no longer in fashion, anthropologically speaking, in the present instance one can scarcely avoid it, particularly in view of the presence of cross-cousin marriage in contiguous Kuki groups.

For the Southern Kuki tribes we possess only scraps of information gleaned from a variety of sources. The Chinbok, Yindu, and Chinbon are described in the *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Scott), but clan groupings are not mentioned. With regard to the Chinbon and Ledu, Pru writes: "I find these tribes marry with any of their own relatives except mother, sister and niece" (cf. Lushei). Aung, in describing the Ledu marriage arrangements, notes that most of the dowry goes to the bride's father, but that one gong is given to MB and another to oB of bride (cf. Lakher).

The Taungtha, described by Tin, are said to have two subdivisions, viz. Kokkhan (four clans) and *Mondon* (three clans). It is not stated whether either the subdivisions or the clans are exogamous, hence one must not prematurely conclude that a true dual organization is involved. Tin mentions two distinctions between the subdivisions, viz. the Kokkhan use only white unvarnished coffins, and offer dogs to nats, while the Mondon use decorated coffins, and offer bullocks to nats.

Our sources for Khami do not agree with one another. Myaing denies the existence of exogamous groupings altogether, while Hughes states that the Khami are divided into 22 clans, each with a distinct name and chief, and Thin describes 36 exogamous clans for the Awa Khami, 5 for the Ahraing Khami (exogamy is mentioned only by Thin). Myaing, as already noted in the section on Mru (pt. 14), specifies marriage with FSiD or MSiD as prohibited, and marriage with FBD or MBD as permitted. Marriage with FBD seems unlikely, despite the fact that this practice exists among the Lushei, but marriage with MBD as opposed to FSiD fits into the general Kuki pattern.

One of the most important sources for the Southern Kuki, Browne's "statistical account" of the District of Thayetmyo, seems to have escaped the notice of writers in this general field. Browne gives an interesting account of the Khyeng (= Sho) of this district, who speak a southern Sho dialect (word-list in the LSI, 1928). The three statements reproduced below are of especial importance;

> Khyeng girls are given in marriage by their brothers, not by their parents. When a girl is born she is specially assigned to one of her brothers, or if she has none to one of her father's sister's sons, whose consent has to be obtained by any one who aspires to her hand. Even after marriage the husband has to treat his wife's brother with inordinate respect. (p. 50)

> Girls as a rule are affianced early to one of their cousins; the correct thing being to marry in one's own family. (p. 51)

> Hence arose the Khyeng customs of offering up a dog to the household spirits, and of giving the daughters of brothers in marriage to brother's sister's sons [in re origin myth incest theme]. (p. 49)

This material is just sufficient to establish the practice of preferential marriage with MBD. The role of WB should be noted, in view of the common Kuki equation of WB with WF, MB (pu). Browne's description is supported by the following statement found in Carey and Tuck (p. 190):

> The eldest brother in the Southern Hills [i.e. the Sho area] is the guardian of his sisters, and if a man aspires to the hand of a woman, he must address himself to the brother and not to the parents.

The additional information supplied by Browne, viz. that FSiS may be substituted for B, cannot be verified from other sources, yet we have no reason to doubt its accuracy, since FSiS is thereby classed as a non-marriageable male, in conformity with the general Kuki pattern.

For the Old Kuki groups a surprisingly large body of material is available, largely through the efforts of a group of Indian ethnographers headed by Bose, Roy, and Das. This material falls short of the most exacting standards of modern anthropological field-work, yet it throws valuable light on the complex kin groupings characteristic of this division of the Kuki peoples. Data have been uncovered for most of the Old Kuki tribes in Manipur, viz. Purum, Chiru, Chawte, Tarau, Aimol, Ronte, Kolhreng, Anal, Mantak, and Lamgang (Ronte and Mantak are linguistically unknown, but are said to be of Old Kuki stock), and for two Old Kuki tribes in Northern Cachar, viz. Bete and Hallam (the latter called "Khelma" in Mills' account).

The Hallam system, as described by Mills, diverges from the Old Kuki pattern, notably in the practice of clan endogamy. The Kyaw, living far to the south in the Arakan Hills, are said to "contract marriage strictly among their own clan" (Hughes, p. 16), but clan exogamy is the rule among all other Old Kuki tribes. Mills described 13 or possibly more patrilineal clans among the Hallam, and adds the following comment:

> The clans are strictly speaking endogamous. Though marriage with a person of another clan is frequent it is definitely regarded as entailing defilement, a man contracting such a marriage cannot perform the funeral rites of his parents. Each family therefore sees to it that one member at least marries within the clan. (p. ix)

601 The Bete, who are neighbors of the Hallam in the Northern Cachar Hills, are described by the same writer in somewhat similar terms, but the account is not at all clear. The Bete have four clans (Chungal, Darnei, Ngamlai, Klete), while a fifth (Klangpa) is said to be extinct. The Chungal and Darnei are regarded as superior to the other two, e.g. the chief (khalim), both of whose parents must be of the same clan, is chosen from the Chungal and Darnei clans alternately. All of this is highly reminiscent of the moiety pattern found among the Old Kuki tribes of Manipur, but Mills indicates that the Chungal and Darnei constitute an endogamous rather than exogamous moiety:

> Strictly speaking the clans are endogamous, but marriage between clans is not infrequent, the woman being received into the clan of her husband. Marriages between members of the Chungal and Darnei clans are common, and these two clans less frequently intermarry with the other two clans. (p. viii)

Two types of clan grouping can be recognized among the Old Kuki groups of Manipur. In the first type moities, named or unnamed, are present, and (with one exception) each moiety is divided into two or more clans, with a maximum of eight. Both the moieties and clans are exogamous, though often only imperfectly so as regards the former. In the second type no dual organization is apparent, but marriage is regulated through exogamous clans (4-6). Asymmetrical descent is characteristic of this type; a man avoids marrying into his father's clan, while a woman avoids marrying into either her father's or her mother's clan, i.e. a man observes unilateral (patrilineal) descent while a woman observes bilateral descent.

601 The complete list of sub-types is as follows:

Named moieties - no clans: Ronte.

Named moieties - eight clans in each: Anal.

Unnamed moieties - two clans in each: Mantak.

Unnamed moieties - four clans in each: Lamgang.

Unnamed moieties - two phratries, four clans in each: Aimol.

Unnamed moieties - six clans in each: Kolhreng.

Four clans - asymmetrical descent: Tarau.

Five clans - asymmetrical descent: Chiru.

Five or six clans - asymmetrical descent: Chawte, Purum.

The simple dual organization is found only among the Ronte (written Lonte in Hodson, 1922, p. 89), who possess two exogamous moieties (Lamu and Changom) but no clans (Shakespear, p. 173). The Anal agree with the Ronte in having named moieties, viz. Murchel (superior moiety) and Murshom (inferior moiety), which are rigidly exogamous (Bose, 1934a, pp. 12-13), but each of these divisions includes eight exogamous clans. The sixteen marriage groups thus formed constitute the largest number found among the Old Kuki tribes.

In the remaining groups with dual organization the moieties are not named, and it would appear that the rules of exogamy are in the process of disappearing. Of 33 Mantak marriages recorded by Bose (1934b, pp. 14-15), 8 were within the moiety, i.e. almost a third of all marriages did not observe the exogamous restrictions. Among the Lamgang, with an "eight-class" system, the "rigidity of marriage rules forcing one moiety to seek partners in the other has been relaxed", but no details are offered (see the discussion in Bose, 1934b, pp. 15-17). Our information on the Kolhreng, with a "twelve-class" system, does not specify to what extent exogamous rules are applied, yet it is noted that the Chongthu or chief's clan does not observe moiety exogamy at all and may marry into any of the other clans (Shakespear, pp. 153 and 167); cf. the similar exemption enjoyed by the Ang clan among the Konyak (pt. 10) and the Ningthaje clan among the Meithei (pt. 13). The Aimol differ from the above in having four named phratries (Chonghom, Chonghomlaita, and Lanoo, Chaithu), each with two clans, thus differing somewhat from the Lamgang who lack phratry groupings. Of 53 marriages recorded by Bose (1934a), 43 were between moieties, 10 within the moiety. Bose indicates that the whole system is in a state of semi-collapse. The above evidence suggests that the retention of moiety names is correlated with the preservation of exogamous rules.

Note the seeming connection between the Chonghom and Lanoo (= Lanu in Bose's transcription) phratries of the Aimol, the former belonging to the superior moiety and the latter to the inferior, with the Changom and Lanu moieties of the Ronte. The Ronte organization is perhaps the prototype of the more elaborate Aimol system (this view is favored by Bose).

In all the above groups except the Ronte, on which our data are exceedingly scant, one moiety is regarded as superior to the other, and village officers are ordinarily elected from this moiety. This pattern has already been noted for

601 the Bete of Northern Cachar, and is paralleled in the Old Kuki tribes with asymmetrical descent (among the Chiru, where the Danla clan is the "royal clan").

Asymmetrical descent is found in three foci, viz. Tarau, Chiru, and Chawte-Purum, each with a distinct set of clan names. The four-clan system of the Tarau is described by Shakespear (p. 173), who gives the following grouping (males of first of pair marry females of second): Pachana ~ Tlangsha, Tlangsha ~ Thimasha, Thimasha ~ Khulpu-in, Khulpu-in ~ Pachana. According to Bose (1937a), there are at present only three clans, two of the original four having merged, but the same system is in operation.

The accounts of the Chiru system, by the same authorities (Shakespear, p. 154; Bose 1937b), are slightly discrepant, yet are in agreement on essential points. Five standard marriage groups are recognized, viz. Danla, Dingthoi, Rezar, Shampar (Shakespear writes Shangpa), and Chongdur. According to Shakespear, the choice is not always restricted to a single clan, e.g. a Danla man may marry either a Dingthoi or Shampar woman, a Dingthoi man may marry either a Chongdur or Danla woman, and a Shampar man may marry either a Dingthoi or Danla woman, while a Rezar or Chongdur man may marry only a Danla woman. It will be noted that, according to this description, a Danla woman may be married by the men of all the other four clans. This suggests that the Danla or "royal clan" is not entirely bound by the standard marriage restrictions; cf. the Chongthu clan of the Kolhreng (supra). Shakespear's account is obviously inaccurate or at any rate incomplete, since no marriages are indicated for Rezar women.

601 Bose made an intensive study of the Chiru village of Nungsha, a settlement of 30 families (10 Khurung, 6 Danla, 5 Shampar, 4 Chongdur, 5 Resar). In this village the Dingthoi clan had become extinct, and the Khurung, probably a "family-group" of one of the traditional clans, had been elevated to the rank of clan. Bose found the pairings to be as follows: Rezar ∼ Danla, Danla ∼ Shampar, Shampar ∼ Chongdur, Chongdur ∼ Khurung, Khurung ∼ Resar, i.e. in each case the choice is restricted to a single clan. Bose's material does not necessarily invalidate the information given by Shakespear some twenty-five years earlier, since each Chiru village probably has its individual features. The Chiru system in general appears to be identical with that of the Kachin (pt. 7), even as to the number of marriage groups involved.

The Chawte-Purum system has been described by Das (1935, 1939) and Roy (1936), as well as by Shakespear (p. 154). Das' account of Purum is the best of any of the material on the Old Kuki tribes, but Roy's article on Chawte is confused and does not agree with the description given by Shakespear. Das describes six clans among the Purum, but refers to the "five Chawte clans". Shakespear describes only five Chawte clans, and Roy in several places writes of five clans yet actually describes six! According to Das, all the Chawte clan names, with the exception of "Iring", are used by the Purum. The name "Iring", however, is written "Irung" by Shakespear and "Jurung" by Roy, and must be equated with the name "Julhung" of the Purum, just as Chawte "Piring" must be identified with Purum "Pilling" (Chawte r = Purum l). The following identifications of clan names can be made:

Purum	Chawte (Roy)	Chawte (Shakespear)
Makan	Makhang	Makhan
Marrim	Marim	Marem
Khyeng	Hiyang	Klang
Thao	Thao	Thao
Julhung	Jurung	Irung
Pilling	Piring	

The Purum system, which is the most complicated Old Kuki arrangement of which we have any knowledge, merits especial consideration. The following marriage restrictions are indicated by Das:

Clan	Married by men	Married by women
1. Makan	Marrim Parpa Khyeng Julhung	Thao
2. Parpa	Marrim Khyeng	Makan Thao
3. Thao	Parpa Makan	Marrim Khyeng Julhung
4. Marim 5. Khyeng	Thao	Parpa Makan
6. Julhung	Thao	Makan

Das noted the identity of choice for the Marim and Khyeng clans, and the similarity of the Julhung to these two clans, whence he drew the natural conclusion that all three clans had originally been one. A further inference, however, was missed by Das, viz. that the Makan and Parpa have been derived from

601 a single group, and this despite the fact that Makan men are now permitted to marry Parpa women. The pairing of Makan and Parpa in the Thao, Marim and Khyeng columns is quite conclusive on this score. If Julhung be regarded as the latest offshoot of the Marrim-Khyeng-Julhung group, its position becomes comparable with that of Parpa, an offshoot of the Makan-Parpa group, and the lack of intermarriage between these two clans assumes some significance. In the manner just outlined the Purum system can be derived from a tripartite scheme with asymmetric descent, grouped as follows: Makan-Parpa ~ Marrim-Khyeng-Julhung ~ Thao.

The process of the evolution of new clans can still be traced in Purum, as made clear by Das. Three new marriage groups are described, viz. Ingte (< Khyeng), Pilling (< Marrim), and Teyu (< Thao), with mention of a fourth named Aihung, said to be extinct. The marriage restrictions indicated by Das are not altogether consistent, but it would appear that the Ingte and Pilling, despite their derivation, are permitted to intermarry (Ingte men marry Pilling and Teyu women), while Pilling men marry Khyeng and Thao women; cf. the intermarriage between the Makan and Parpa, derived from a single marriage group.

The Chawte material is of uncertain value and would not repay detailed examination. According to Roy, each clan has a choice of marrying into two or more clans, but in Shakespear's scheme only two clans enjoy this freedom. The Piring (= Purum Pilling) clan is mentioned only by Roy, thus substantiating

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the Purum evidence as to its relatively late origin. According to Roy, a Marim man may marry a Jurung, Thao, or Piring woman, hence it does not appear that Piring has been derived from Marim (but Purum Pilling < Marrim). The basic Purum tripartite pattern is perhaps represented in Chawte in the groupings Makhan ~ Irung, Irung ~ Thao, Thao ~ Makhan (in Shakespear, where Irung = Jurung = Purum Julhung), but it is impossible to establish any exact correspondences between the Chawte and Purum systems. One suspects that a better description of the Chawte regulations would clear up many points now obscure.

The unilateral type of cross-cousin marriage with MBD is characteristic of the Old Kuki tribes in general, regardless of the type of social organization. This practice is the natural concomitant of asymmetrical descent, which permits a man to marry into his mother's clan but forbids a woman to do so. Among the Chiru, the MBD is the "preferential mate", while the FSiD is "totally forbidden" (Bose, 1937b). The same writer (1934b) observed "several cases" of marriage with MBD among the Anal. Roy writes (p. 141) that cross-cousin marriage (unspecified) "is actually in vogue to this day among the Chawte" Among the Aimol, "a man's proper marriage is with his mother's brother's daughter but he is never allowed to marry his father's sister's daughter" (Bose, 1934a, p. 9). Bose notes, however, that this type of marriage is "not very common". Bose explains this on the theory that the practice of three years' son-in-law service (observed also among the

Chawte by Roy) leads a man to attempt to find a wife nearby and discourages marriage with MBD, who normally lives in another village (through village exogamy, which is not fully described in our sources). Finally, the Purum are said to permit marriage with MBD and to forbid marriage of brother and sister to brother and sister (which would entail marriage with FSiD if the other marriage were with MBD).

The position of the mother's brother among the Old Kuki is probably much the same as that already noted among the Lushei and Lakher, but our sources are inadequate on this point. Among the Aimol, the mother's brother has a "special right" to the bride-price or man (Bose, 1934a, p. 15). Bose also describes in-law taboos observed by the Aimol, viz. a woman may not speak to her father-in-law or mother-in-law except "when necessity arises", and is forbidden to speak to her husband's elder brother under any conditions. This point is of some interest in view of the general Kuki equation of HB or HoB with HF.

A story recorded by Das illustrates the recognition of matrilineal descent among the Purum. The following explanation is said to have been made by Das' informant in re the marriage restrictions of the Ingte and Marrim clans:

> Ingte lads and Marrim lads marry Thao girls. So they are born of mothers of the same clan and have the same blood. So Ingte and Marrim lads and girls are like brothers and sisters. Therefore they cannot marry one another. (p. 7)

The Old Kuki (and general Kuki) distinction between WM and HM, and between WF and HF, together with the categorical equations displayed by all these terms, directly reflect the

601 practice of unilateral cross-cousin marriage with MBD. The distinction drawn between FSiCh and MBCh is in keeping with this same system. Das, who supplies some rather vague information on the Purum terms involved in this distinction, postulates an original dual organization, but this explanation is quite unnecessary. Das cites the terms katunu "applied by a man to non-marriageable girls", kapu "applied by a woman to non-marriageable boys", kanaunu "applied by a man to marriageable girls", and kupa "applied by a woman to marriageable boys". These terms can be identified with Kuki (ka-)tu-nu FSiD (unmarriageable), (ka-)pu MBS (unmarriageable), (ka-)nau-nu ySi, and (k-)u-pa oB, respectively. Das states that these are kinship terms, but offers no details. If the above identifications are correct, Purum equates MBD(ms) with ySi, and FSiS(ws) with oB; cf. the Chawte equation of xCi with ySi, in the same term as used in Purum (ka-nau-nu). Das also cites the Purum term mak-sa (Kuki *mak DH,SiH), defined as "the husbands of the daughters of a family of all generations possible", and notes that the mak-sa play an important role in marriage and funeral ceremonies (in the role of SiH, to judge from the parallel situation that obtains among the Central Kuki tribes).

For the Luhupa and Western Kuki tribes we have only scattered bits of information, with the lone exception of Bose's description of the Maring organization (Bose, 1934b, 22-26). Bose draws a distinction between an "elder branch" (Khoibu) and a "younger branch" (Maring), which are said to be strictly endogamous. Bose states that the two branches have the same culture yet do not understand each other's language. This statement is open to question, since the Khoibu language, known only from a brief word-list published by N. Brown over one hundred years ago, is scarcely more than a dialect of Maring. In any case, it seems preferable to regard the Khoibu and Maring as separate tribes. Within the Maring branch (tribe) two endogamous territorial divisions are recognized, one with seven villages under the Koba *chingsanglakpa* (headman), the other with five villages under the Koba *chingsanglakpa*. According to Bose, "this grouping originated perhaps from two rival factions and subsequently took over the marital functions of the kinship groups, prohibiting marriage between the two". The kinship groups referred to are the Khulpua, Dangsoa, Kansoa, and Koninga, each having two additional clans, the whole forming a kind of "twelve-class" system. Bose states that these are "entirely on kinship basis and perhaps important in social functions", but adds no details. It would seem that these kinship groups no longer regulate marriage, but information on this point is lacking.

It is difficult to find any specific Kuki features in the above system, unless one makes a comparison with the Bete and Hallam of Northern Cachar, to whom endogamous clans have been ascribed (supra). Hodson (1911, p. 75) reconstructs a system of endogamous moieties with exogamous clans, on the

601 basis of the Maring material (as reported by R. Brown) and the reputed division of the Kabui into two sections. McCulloch describes these sections under the names "Koupooee Songboo" and "Koupooee Pooeeron". The former are the Kabui proper, a Western Kuki tribe, while the latter are the Poeron, who speak an entirely distinct language with basic affinities for Old Kuki. Here, as in the case of Maring ~~and Khoibu~~, separate tribes are involved. Bose (1934b, p. 22) found a definite clan organization with tripartite division in Kabui villages near Bishnupore, and clan names, but without any system of grouping, in Kabui villages near Imphal (the capital of Manipur). The Maram are said to have three exogamous khels, two of which form an exogamous group, i.e. a moiety system, though not described as such (note by Shakespear in Hutton, 1921, p. 117). For the Empeo, we have information only on three divisions in the Naga Hills (Hutton, 1921, p. 352, under the name "Kacha"). These Empeo groups have come under Angami influence, and Hutton describes some of the Empeo exogamous clans as having Angami names, but nothing is said of the nature of these clans.

The information on clan organization in Hodson's general review of the Manipur tribes (1911) is disappointingly meagre. A number of general statements are made, most of which can be interpreted as applying to the Tangkhul, but details are omitted. The following is typical:

> All the villages consist of a number of "clans", which are groups of agnatic kindred who must marry outside the clan. Kinship is not reckoned through females, and rights of succession, both to village office and to movable or personal property, are vested in males. (p. 21)

601 Cross-cousin marriage has not been reported for any of the Luhupa or Western Kuki tribes, but the following statement made by Hodson (p. 89) implies that this type of marriage is not uncommon:

> I have heard in a few villages that marriages with girls of the mother's clan [i.e. with MBD] are not liked. And also that marriages with the children of aunts on the father's side [i.e. with FSiD] are viewed with disfavor.

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[1] [For abbreviations, see this source in cat, 113, ALI Southeast ASIA ALI -- Analyst]

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16. The Naga Languages

197 The Southern and Northern Naga languages are the northernmost units of the widespread Kukish group (vide the diagram in the preceding part). They are closely related to one another, but present the maximum number of differences from the Kuki languages proper to the south. Ao and Lhota, though phonetically much better preserved than the Southern Naga languages, yet show many aberrant features and are extremely difficult to analyze. Angami, Sema, and Rengma have been phonetically distorted almost beyond recognition, and at times one despairs of ever arriving at any phonological generalizations for this group. Much of our trouble, however, lies in our inadequate sources. Hutton, a fine ethnographer in many respects, is lamentably weak on the linguistic side, and other authorities 601 are equally poor from this point of view. It is not a little ironic, therefore, that our best data on kinship nomenclature within the Tibeto-Burman field are for these very Naga languages. From what has already been said, it follows that we must for the greater part confine ourselves to an analysis of the terminologies _per se_, with only occasional attempts at comparison.

197 It must be remembered that the Naga languages handled in this part of the paper are entirely distinct from the so-called "Eastern Naga" languages spoken to the north and east of the Ao country. The latter have already been examined in part 10 (on Konyak). This division of the "Naga" tribes into

two separate groups, one with Kuki and the other with Kachin-Barish affinities, is of fundamental importance, and has far-reaching implications in the general field of Assam-Burma ethnology. The linguistic division seems assured, but the parallel problem in cultural affinities has not yet been worked out. The Angami, Sema, Rengma, Lhota, and Ao all have traditions of having migrated from the south (vide Hutton, 1921a, Introductory), and both the Angami and Sema have intimate connections with Khoirao and Maram (Western Kuki) villages in northern Manipur (vide Hutton, 1921b, pp. 376 and ff.). Within the Kuki group, the Thado and Old Kuki tribes have been displaced northward under pressure of the dominant Lushei clans, perhaps as part of the same general northward movement. The Konyak ("Eastern Naga") tribes, on the other hand, appear to have crossed the Patkoi divide from the east and north. In general, then, different directions of migration are indicated for the two divisions of the "Naga" tribes.

A connecting link between Angami and the Kuki-affiliated peoples of Manipur is furnished by Sopvoma, often called Mao (the Meithei name of their chief village). In the LSI this language is classified as "Naga-Kuki" (approximately our Luhupa group), but this is unquestionably a mistake, since the language is fairly close to Angami. Hutton (1921a), who uses the term "Memi", regards this group as a branch of the Angami (vide the map facing p. 15). The Kezhama (Kezama ~ Kezami in Hutton), who are southeast of the main body of the Angami, are also classed by Hutton as a branch of this large tribe (vide the map supra).

Angami

000 tribe (vide the map supra). A few Sopvoma and Kezhama kinship 601 terms are cited in the LSI. The Kezhama terms are especially close to the Angami, e.g. a-zo M (Angami zo), ka-mi W (Angami ki-ma), e-no-mi S, e-no-pi D (Angami a-no Ch). Sopvoma has a distinct term (a-pe) for M, and apparently also distinct Sb terms, viz. a-t'e-hu B (but ni-t'e-hu "your yB" in text on p. 460, as shown by context), t'e-hu ~ t'i-hu ySi, a-tui oSi. Sopvoma a-ke W is similar to Angami ki-ma, and cf. the feminine suffix -kru with Angami -krü, id.

Detailed information is available on the terminologies of six Naga languages, viz. Angami, Sema, Rengma (two languages), Lhota, and Ao. The data in the main have been drawn from the standard works by Hutton and Mills, but much supplementary material has come from grammars, dictionaries, and word-lists. The terminologies of the several languages are presented below as units, with limited annotations, while the problem of the affinities of the terms is reserved for a final discussion. It is characteristic of the Naga languages that many consanguineal kin are addressed and spoken of by the personal name only, and that certain kinship terms are applied only in address. The latter distinction is so significant that it has been incorporated into the tabulations presented below, in which definitions followed by an asterisk are those found only in address.

Angami

197 Two major dialectical divisions are recognized within Angami proper, viz. an eastern or Chakrima, and a western or

197 Tengima, each with several sub-dialects. Aside from three unimportant Chakrima sub-dialects recorded in the LSI, viz. Dzuna, Kehena, and Mima, our Angami material relates to the Tengima group of dialects. The major sources are Hutton (1921a), McCabe, and Butler (1875b), all of whom have described this standard Tengima speech (probably the Khonoma sub-dialect).

Angami Consanguineal Terms

601

zo-tsa tsa-pfü	gM	pu-tsa-o pvu-tsa	gF
zo pfü	M,MSi*	po pvu	F,FoB*
		nyie	FyB
nye	FSi	mi	MB
dze-ro-pfü	oSi(ws)	dze-re-o	oB(ms)
sie-ze-pfü	ySi(ws)	sie-ze-o	yB(ms)
lu-pfü	Si(ms)	pru	B(ws)
cu-pfü	FSiD,ySiD(ms),gD	cu	FSiS,ySiS(ms),gS
no-pfü	D,SiD(ws)	no	S,SiS(ws)

Angami Affinal Terms

nye	WM,HM	mi	FSiH,WF,HF

t'i FBW(ms),MBW,WoSb,HoB,oSiH,oBW(ms)

ni FBW(ws),MSiH,HoSi(os),oBW(ws)

sie-ze-pfü	WySi		
mie-pfü	yBW(ms),SW	ma	ySiH,DH

Notes:

Zo M and po F are used by the Pezoma (< zo) or Pepoma (< po) division of the Angami, and pfü M and pvu F by the Pepfüma (< pfü) or Pepvuma (< pvu) division (vide Hutton, pp. 110-111). For a fuller discussion of this point, see the last part of this section. Zo-tsa gM and po-tsa-o gF are Pezoma terms, while tsa-pfü (or pfü-tsa) gM and pvu-tsa gF are Pepfüma terms (note Pezoma pu-tsa-o rather than *po-tsa-o).

Zo ~ pfü are applied to MSi, also to FBW, in address only, the descriptive term being zo-pfü (or pfü-zo) ~ pfü-pfü. Similarly, the descriptive term for FoB is po dze-re-o ~ pvu dze-re-o. Hutton gives only the single term nyie (or nyie-di) for FyB (Butler a-ne FB), but McCabe cites a-po dzü-rau and a-po sa-zau "uncle", formed with dze-rau oB and (a-)sa-zau yB, respectively.

Hutton cites both nye and nya FSi, the latter agreeing with the form na given by McCabe and Butler. The form nye has been retained in order to avoid confusion with na DH. The term is entirely distinct from nyie FyB, for which Butler has a-ne. Mi-yu is given as an alternative form of mi MB, and Butler cites the form a-mui.

The Sb terms are as cited in Hutton. Lu-pfü, cited by Hutton in brackets, is the basic form and is found in all the other sources, while ü-pfu, the form given preference in Hutton, is secondary (lü-pfü ~ wü-pfü in the LSI). Distinctions in sex of speaker are recorded only by Hutton.

601 Hutton explicity states (p. 134) that only personal names are applied to FBCh, MBCh, and MSiCh, but that the exact relationship can be specified if necessary, e.g. a-mi u-no-pfü "MB his-D" = MBD. Personal names are also used for oSiCh(ms) and BCh(mws). McCabe cites tsu (= cu) gS but tsu-a-no Ne (Hutton cu ~ cu-no), and tsu-pfü Ni, gD. Both Butler and McCabe cite the interesting analytical term no-no gS ("son's son").

/ In the affinal terminology, t'i is seen to be primarily a man's term (but note HoB) and ni primarily a woman's term. Both refer exclusively to older affinal kin, e.g. ni is applied to MSiH only when older than F, the term a-po ~ a-pvu being employed when younger than F. Personal names are applied to the affinal relatives not represented in the above table. McCabe cites the analytical term ki-ma-no-pru Bl (ki-ma W), and me ~ a-me Sil, for mie-pfü. Butler defines mi as "Bl", a meaning not indicated in Hutton.

Sema

197
601 In Sema, as in Angami, two principal dialects can be distinguished, viz. the Lazmi (Lozemi) dialect spoken in the Dayang valley in the western part of Sema territory, and the Zümomi dialect spoken in the Tizu valley to the east, the latter being the dominant dialect. Our main Sema sources, viz. Hutton (1916, 1921b) and Bor and Pawsey, all are based on the Zümomi dialect. Sema is fairly close to Angami, with Kezhama somewhat intermediate between the two, but some striking differences appear in the kinship terminology.

601

Sema Consanguineal Terms

(a-)pu-za gP

(a-)za M,MSi,MBD	(a-)pu F,FB
(a-)ni FSi	(a-)ngu MB,MBS
(a-)fu oSi,FBD(os)	(a-)mu oB,FBS(os)
(a-)tsü-ni-pfu ySi(ws),FBD(yws)	(a-)tü-ku-zu yB(ms),FBS(yms)
(a-)ce-pfu ySi(ms),FBD(yms)	(a-)pe-u yB(ws),FBS(yws)

(a-)ti-ke-šiu FSiCh(ms),SiCh(ms)

(a-)nu Ch,yBCh(ms),gCh

Sema Affinal Terms

(a-)ni WM,HM,HoSi,oBW(ws),HoBW	(a-)ngu WF,HF,WB,HB

(a-)ci FSiH,WB,oSiH(ms),oBW(ms),SiH(ws)

(a-)fu WSi	(a-)ma-ke-šiu ySiH(ms)

(a-)mu-ke-šiu yBW,HyBW,SW

(a-)ni-pa WSiH,HyBW(ys),SW

Notes:

The neuter gP term is found only in Sema in the Naga group. Hutton also cites a-sü "paternal grandfather or other ancestor", lit. "tree, stock" (cf. Lepcha, Burmese), and in another place (1916, p. 42) the same authority states that this term is used in address to one's own grandfather.

The Sb terms are grouped somewhat differently than in Angami, and 'Omaha' features are present in full rather than only in part. The term a-tsü-ni-pfu (Bor and Pawsey, but a-tsü-nu-pfu in Hutton) apparently contains the element ni-pfu W. Especial collective terms are cited for "brothers"

601 and "sisters" "brethern", viz. a-te-zü-mi(ms) and a-pe-li-mi (ws) (a-p'e-li-mi in Bor and Pawsey); cf. a-pe-u yB(ws). Sema also has a collective term for "grandchildren", viz. a-ti-li-mi, from a-ti "seed, fruit" (< TB *sei); cf. the TB root *ma-li gCh <*li "seed". Still another collective term is represented by a-ngu-li-mi "male relations by marriage, in particular the males of a man's mother's family, but also those of his wife's family or of a woman's husband's family", based on a-ngu MB,MBS,Fl. Hutton's discussion of the suffix -li-mi (1921b, pp. 131-32) is not very enlightening; it occurs in the term a-li-mi "girl" (also used for "D"), in almost all feminine names, and in many clan names. The element -li, moreover, is used as a plural suffix, and a-li is a masculine suffix for names of domestic animals (e.g. a-tsü-li "dog", a-wo-li "hog"), while -mi is probably for (ti-)mi "man (homo)".

The term a-te-ke-šiu is also used in a collective sense, viz. "persons related to the speaker through their mother, who is a woman of his family", i.e. FSiCh(ms),SiCh(ms). Note that this term is not extended to include gCh, the latter being grouped with Ch (a-nu). Hutton interprets this term as "come of (our) seed", yet a-mu-ke-šiu yBW, with the same final element, is interpreted as "one who makes or is made (keshiu) an elder brother (amu)", as if from the verbal root ši "to make" plus the verbal-adjectival prefix ke-.

In the affinal terminology, which greatly differs from that of Angami, Hutton notes a difference between the Western

Rengma

601 (Lazmi) and Eastern (Zümomi) dialects, the former employing a-ngu for WB, the latter a-ci. A-mu-ke-šiu is said to be used for Dl in some villages, and a-ni-pa (cf. a-ni-pfu W) in others; the former term is further used in the village of Seromi for HyBW(ys). Hutton (1916, p. 42) cites mai-ki-šiu Sl,Dl, apparently the same term as a-ma-ke-šiu (also simply a-ma) ySiH(ms); cf. Angami na ySiH,DH.

The Sema nomenclature stresses age distinctions in much the same way as the Angami, e.g. a-nu yBCh(ms) where oBCh(ms) is called by name, and referred to by the analytical term i-mu nu; a-fu WSi but called by name if younger than speaker; a-mu-ke-šiu HyBW(ys) but a-ni HyBW(os)= HoBW=HM.

Rengma

101
197 The Rengma tribal complex includes three divisions speaking two distinct languages. The main body of the Rengma are north of the Angami and east of the Dayang (Brahmaputra drainage). The northern group (Ntenyi) and the southern group (Nzong) are culturally unified and hence have been lumped by Mills under the term "Western Rengma", but they speak distinct languages, as recognized by Mills himself. The so-called "Naked Rengma", who call themselves Anyo, represent an offshoot from the Ntenyi group who have crossed the Assam-Burma watershed and established themselves in three villages near the Tizu-Tiho junction (Chindwin

197 drainage). This emigrant group, which has long been cut off from all contact with the main body of Rengma by the powerful Angami and Sema tribes, shows many striking differences in

197 culture yet retains a speech that is little more than a dialect of Ntenyi. The Ntenyi-Anyo language is perhaps closer to Sema and Kezhama, the Nzong language to Angami, though this point is still in doubt. Ntenyi-Anyo is notable for its retention of original final -a, as in a-sa "flesh" (Nzong te); a-o-wa "bird" (Nzong te-gü); a-nga "fish" (Nzong tsü-hü); a-ha "tooth" (Nzong hü).

601 Full kinship terminologies for all three groups (Nzong, Ntenyi, Anyo) are presented by Mills (1937), and the LSI and Butler (1873) give word-lists for Nzong. Our general linguistic information on these languages, however, is even poorer than that on Angami, Sema, and the other Naga languages.

Rengma (Nzong) Consanguineal Terms

(a-)ši } gM
(a-)gü }
(a-)vong gF
(a-)vyü M,MSi,FBW,MBD(os)*
(a-)pfü F
(a-)psü M
(a-)da FoB,MoSiH
(a-)nyo FyB,MySiH
(a-)nü FSi
(a-)mi MB,MBS(os)*
(a-)tsa oSb,pC
(a-)le-gi ySi,pC
(a-)si-ke-zu-ngü yB,pC
(a-)cu-gü FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh
(a-)šen-nü D,BD(ms)
(a-)šen-vu S,BS(ms)
nyo Ch

Rengma (Nzong) Affinal Terms

601

(a-)nü	WM,HM	(a-)mi	WF,HF,HoB,WB(os)*
(a-)zu-gi	WoSi	(a-)mu	FSiH,oSiH(ows)
		(a-)sü-tü	WSiH
(a-)mo	yBW(ms),SW	ta-mu	SiH(ms),DH

Notes:

A-ši (Butler a-t'i) is the regular term for gM, paired with a-vong (Butler a-bang) gF, while a-vyü is the regular term for M, paired with a-pfü F. A-gü and a-psü are obligatory terms of address in the Tselangu clan, and are optional in three other clans. In the "outer range" of clans, a-pfü is used as a neuter term for P, sex being distinguished in the terms a-pfü pe-ce-gü F, a-pfü te-nu-gü M. Nzong is exceptional in having primary terms for FoB and FyB; the latter (a-nyo; Butler a-nio FB) seems to be identical to the term nyo Ch, not found in Mills but reconstructed from the term nio S,D in Butler (a-nyu S in the LSI). The terms cited by Mills, viz. a-šen-vu S and a-šen-nü D, appear to be based on (ke-)šen "small".

Nzong differs from other Naga languages in lacking sex-of-speaker distinctions in the Sb nomenclature. A-si-ke-zu-ngü yB is of periphrastic origin, according to Mills' interpretation: "the one coming after". The collateral terminology is of 'Omaha' type, but note that a-vyü M and a-mi MB are applied only to MBCh(os) and in address only, personal names being used in reference. Personal names are also used for MBCh(ys), 601 and for BCh(ws),SiCh(ws). Butler cites distinct gCh terms, viz. a-ninga gS (cf. a-nin Ch, also Ntenyi a-nga Ch), a-niu-gi gD.

Personal names are employed for many affinal relatives, as indicated by the scarcity of terms in the above tabulation; even ta-mu DH is ordinarily replaced by the personal name, according to Mills. Mills further notes that when children are betrothed in infancy, parents on both sides address them as "son" and "daughter" rather than by the affinal terms. The term a-zu-gi WoSi (cf. a-le-gi ySi) is used only when WoSi is of the speaker's mother's clan, i.e. it could be used if speaker had married his MBD. A fine distinction is drawn between a-mu (am-mu in Mills) oSiH(ws) when this relative is "much older" than speaker (equated with FSiH), and a-tsa, id., when this relative is "a little older" than speaker (equated with oSb). For the relationship of a-mu FSiH to ta-mu SiH(ms),DH, cf. the Ao term a-nok (probably a direct cognate).

Rengma (Ntenyi) Consanguineal Terms

(a-)la ggM   (a-)mui ggF,MB,MBS(os)*
(a-)za-k'i gM
(a-)za gM,M,MySi,FBW,MBD(os)*   (a-)pa gF,F
(a-)pfu M
(a-)za-k'e MoSi   (a-)pa-k'e FoB,MoSiH
(e-)nyi FSi   (a-)pe-za FyB,MySiH
(a-)pi oSb,pC
(e-)tsü-k'e-gu-wa ySi(ms),pC   (e-)ci-no-wa yB,pC
(a-)zu-wa FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh
{(a-)nga
{(a-)tsa   Ch,BCh(ms)

Rengma (Ntenyi) Affinal Terms

(e-)nyi MBW,WM,HM   (a-)mui FSiH,WF
(e-)nyong HSi   (e-)k'u HF,WB(os)*
(e-)k'u-za HyB
(e-)tsü WoSi,oBW(os)   (e-)zü WSiH
(e-)tsü-nyi yBW,SW   (e-)ta-myua SiH(ms),DH

Notes:

Ntenyi, like Nzong, has especial terms both for gM (a-za-k'i) and M (a-pfu). These are used by a person whose eyes have become irritated; cf. the employment of like terms in the Tselangu clan of the Nzong, on the basis that one's eyes will become inflamed unless these especial terms are used. Ntenyi is aberrant in equating gM with M (a-za) and gF with F (a-pa), as well as in equating MB with ggF (cf.

401 the Kuki term *pu gF,MB). The terms a-la and a-mui strictly refer to "female ancestors on both sides higher than gM" and "male ancestors on both sides higher than gF", respectively.

In the PSb nomenclature, the element -k'e seems to have a magnitive force, while -za is used as a diminutive (cf. e-k'u-za HyB). The Sb terms are arranged as in Nzong, but e-ci-no-wa yB is used only in reference (name used in address), and the name only is used for ySi(ws); cf. the Nzong term a-le-gi ySi, which is used by a woman only in reference, the name being used in address. The Iseni-kotsenu (= Ntenyi) dialect recorded by Hutton (1921a, p. 329) has a-tsü-no-a yB, a-tsü-ghü ySi.

The collateral terms conform in every detail to the Nzong pattern, even to the lack of terms for BCh(ws) and SiCh(ws). A sub-dialectical variation is represented by a-nga Ch (Tesophenyu sub-dialect), a-tsa Ch (Kotsenyu sub-dialect); for the former, cf. Sema a-nga "baby".

The distinction drawn between WF (a-mui) and HF (e-k'u) is the outstanding feature of the affinal terminology; Mills notes that a-mui is often used for HF as well as for WF. The term e-k'u-za FyB, with a diminutive element -za (supra), suggests an original e-k'u HoB = HF, a Kuki-type equation. The term e-tsü WoSi,oBW(ms) is described as "obsolete", having been replaced by the personal name. In Ntenyi the Naga tendency to replace kinship terms by personal names is especially well marked.

Rengma (Anyo) Consanguineal Terms

601 (a-)la gM

(a-)mi gF,MB,MBS(os)*

(a-)za
M
(a-)wo

(a-)pa F

(a-)za-k'ru MoSi,FoBW

(a-)pa-ci FoB,MoSiH

(a-)za-tsü MySi,FyBW,MBD*

(a-)pe-za FyB,MySiH

(a-)ce oSb,FBCh(os)

(e-)nu ySb,FBCh(ys)

(a-)zü FSiCh,xpN,gCh

(e-)nyi
MSiD
(a-)vo-le

(e-)nyu-pa
WSiS
(e-)ci-pa

(a-)tsa Ch

Rengma (Anyo) Affinal Terms

(e-)nyi-tsü MBW,WM,HM

(a-)mi FSiH,WF

(e-)nyi MBW

(e-)k'u HF,WSiH

(e-)tsü WoSi,oBW(ms),HoB

(e-)nyo HSi

(e-)nyi-pa WB,SiH(ms)

(a-)za-vu WySi,yBW(ms)

(a-)zu-pa WyB

(e-)tsü-nyi Dl

(e-)ta-mu Sl

Notes:

The Anyo nomenclature is closely related to the Ntenyi, yet presents a number of important variations that demand our attention. The gP terms seem to represent the basic arrangement from which the Ntenyi terms were developed; note a-mi gF,MB, precisely as in Kuki, but applied to MBS(os) only in address, as in Ntenyi and Nzong. Anyo parallels Ntenyi and Nzong in having an especial term for M (a-wo), used only by the Tsori clan.

601

The terms a-za-k'ru MeSi and a-za-tsü MySi are interpreted as "great mother" and "little mother", respectively; cf. nyi-tsü FSi, perhaps also e-tsü WeSi and e-tsü-nyi Dl. The appearance of only two Sb terms, apparently distinct from any in Ntenyi, is worthy of attention.

The collateral nomenclature shows two points of contrast with the Ntenyi system, viz. the equation of FSiCh with both xN and pN rather than simply with SiCh(ms), and the use of distinct terms for MSiCh(personal name used in Ntenyi). Two sets of terms appear here, the usage being dependent on the clan affiliations of the relative in question. When MSiS and MSiD are of speaker's clan (i.e. both M and MSi have married into the same clan), the terms e-ci-pa and a-vo-le are used, whereas when MSiS and MSiD are not of speaker's clan, the terms e-nyu-pa (cf. the affinal use of this term) and e-nyi are used. The term e-nyi is applied to elderly females of neither the speaker's father's nor mother's clan, and is used for MBW only under these conditions, while e-nyi-tsü (probably "little aunt", vide supra) is used for MBW when of speaker's father's (i.e. speaker's) clan.

A similar distinction is drawn between a-mi "elderly male of mother's clan" and e-k'ü (= e-k'u) "elderly male of neither father's nor mother's clan" (vide Mills, 1937, note to p. 136). Mills notes that a-mi is often used for HF (cf. Ntenyi a-mui), indicating that a woman may on occasion marry her MBS, and note the equation of FSiH with WF rather than with HF. E-k'u is applied to WSiH only when of a clan different from that of speaker (i.e. when sisters have married into different clans).

Lhota

Lhota

[101] The Lhota inhabit the area west of the Ao and Sema and
197 north of the Rengma, in the middle and lower Dayang drainage.
Hutton and Mills have emphasized the cultural affinities of
the Lhota with the Rengma, Sema, and Angami, but the language
stands nearer to Ao, as recognized by the compilers of the LSI.
Lhota is much better unified than the Naga languages discussed
above, and the two sub-dialects (Liye, spoken north of the
Dayang, and Ndrung, spoken south of the Dayang) differ only
slightly from each other. Mills (1922) cites a few terms as
"Southern Lhota", and others as "Northern Lhota", but this
division does not correspond to the dialectical division, for
Witter, whose work is based on the Liye (northern) dialect,
cites forms which agree with Mills' "Southern Lhota" forms.
Our only source for the Ndrung dialect is Butler (1875a),
who recorded a number of unusual terms. In general, our
Lhota sources show an unduly large proportion of discrepancies,
601 making it difficult to establish standard forms. In the
tabulation presented below the forms are mainly those cited
by Mills, but with some corrections from Witter. Only
Southern Lhota forms are included, but the Northern Lhota
equivalents are indicated in the notes.

Lhota Consanguineal Terms

(o-)tsü	gM	(o-)mo-tsü	gF
(o-)yo (o-)pfu	M	(o-)po	F
(o-)yo-ra-mo	MoSi	(o-)po-ra-mo	FoB
(o-)yo-mung-owo	MySi,MBD	(o-)po-ro	FyB
(a-)no	FSi	(o-)mo	MB,MBS
(o-)ta	oSb(mws),pC		
(o-)nyi-ro	ySi(ws),pC	(o-)nyu-ro	yB(ms),pC
(o-)yi-lo	ySi(ms),pC	(o-)pye	yB(ws),pC
(o-)hro-vo	FSiD,SiD(ms)	(o-)hro	FSiS,SiS(ms)
(o-)ka	MSiD(ys),BD(ws)	(o-)ngo	MSiS(ys),BS(ws)
(o-)tso-lo-vo	D,pNi	(o-)tso-tyu-ngo	S,pNe
(o-)hre-vo	gD	(o-)hre	gS

Lhota Affinal Terms

(o-)no	MBW,WM,HM	(o-)mo	WF,HF
(a-)nang	FSiH,WoB,SiH(ms),HSi,BW(ws)		
		(a-)nang-mung-owo	WyB
(o-)hrã e-ra-mo	WoSi	(o-)hrã	SiH(ws),HB
(o-)hrã nung-owo	WySi	(o-)zi	WSiH
(o-)hro-vo	BW(ms),SW(ms)	(o-)myak-o	DH(ws)
(o-)ka	SW(ws)	eng	DH(ms)

Notes:

Northern Lhota o-tyo gM; cf. Thukomi i-tya M. Witter cites both o-tsü and o-pvü, the latter equated with o-pvü M (Witter). Butler cites a-lo-ro gM (= a-yo-ro; cf. o-no-ro FySi), a-me-tu gF (= o-mo-tsü). The distinction between o-yo and o-pfu M is

601 one both of clan and of dialect (area); o-yo is the Northern term for women of the Izumonsterre phratry, and o-pfu is the general term for women of the Tompyaktserre phratry and of the Ezong clan of the Mipongsandre phratry, as well as the Southern term for women of the Izumonsterre phratry.

Age distinctions in Lhota are made with the aid or the elements -ra-mo (o-ra-mo "older"), -nung-owo ~ nung-howo (nung-owo "younger"), and -ro (unanalyzed, but cf. nga-ro "babe", in Butler). Northern Lhota has o-po-nung-owo FyB for o-po-ro, and distinguishes between o-no-ra-mo FoSi and o-no-ro ~ o-no-nung-owo FySi. The forms o-nyu-ro yB(ms) and o-nyi-ro ySi(ws) perhaps represent a single term for ySb(ss). The term o-yi-lo ySi(ms) includes a feminine suffix -lo; cf. Butler a-i-loi Si (o-loi "female, woman"), Witter o-yu-lüe ySi (o-lüe "female suffix"). Hutton (1921a, p. 329) cites o-ngo yB (= "boy, son"), and Butler cites a-ngo, id.; cf. the equation of ySb with Ch in Ao.

The terms o-hro FSiS, SiS(ms) and o-hro gS are distinct, as cited by Mills, yet the similarity leads one to suspect that a single root, if not a single term, may be involved. Butler cites ar-ru gS, arr gD, while Witter cites o-rü-wo gS, o-sü-wo gD (cf. Anyo Rengma a-zü). Witter also cites o-tso-erri gS, the same word as o-tso-eri "family, generations, descendants", based on o-tso Ch (Witter). The terms o-ngo BS(ws) and o-ka BD(ws) are the ordinary words for "boy" and "lass", respectively. O-ta oSb is applied to MSiCh(os), as contrasted with MSiCh(ys).

Ao

601 Affinal terms are affected by the clan affiliations of the relative in question, though this feature is not so prominent as in Ao (infra). O-no Ml is used for MBW only when of a clan different from that of speaker, and a-nang (a-nung in Mills) is applied to FSiH only when of a clan different from that of speaker's mother. Northern Lhota has a-ngi MBW,Ml rather than o-no, hence does not show the equation Ml=FSi. O-zi is used for WSiH only when of a clan different from speaker's; this term appears in Butler in the forms o-a-zi Bl, o-a-zi-o Sil (not represented in Witter).

The term o-hrã, with typical Lhota nasalized final, has been reconstructed from forms o-hram ~ o-hrang in Mills, o-hram ~ o-hra in Witter. Note that the fundamental meaning is Bl(ws),WSi(ms), i.e. approximately Sbl(ds), as opposed to a-nang Sbl(ss). Where WBW is of a clan different from speaker's, a-nang is applied to WBS, and o-rhã to WBD.

Northern Lhota has a separate term for BW(ms),SW(ms), viz. o-mi (in Southern Lhota equated with SiD,ms). Witter cites o-hram (= o-hrã) Dl, from which an equation of WSi with BW(ms) can be inferred (paralleling a-nang WB,SiH,ms). Witter also cites o-ryu-wŏ Sl; cf. o-rü-wo gS (Wittor) and o-hro SiS(ms).

Ao

101
197 The Ao are the last of the Naga tribes to be considered in this review. As among the Angami and Rengma, two sharply defined linguistic groups exist. The older Ao group is the Mongsen, in the west, which includes Changki as a sub-group.

[101] 197 The more recent and now dominant Ao group is the Chongli, immediately west of the Dikhu River and thus on the east of the Mongsen. The Mongsen dialect is still used in traditional songs, even among the Chongli clans, but in daily life is rapidly being superseded by Chongli. Changki, spoken only in a few small villages in the southwest corner of the Ao region, is even more moribund. Mills has described still other Ao groups living on the east bank of the Dikhu, viz. Longla and Yacham, but gives us little information on them. The Tengsa dialect recorded by N. Brown is merely a sub-dialect of Yacham (the contrary view in the LSI, pp. 290-91 notwithstanding). Yachumi and Thukomi (Sangtam) are fairly close to Ao, to judge from the meagre material on them (in the LSI), but are best regarded as separate languages.

601 Mills (1926) gives detailed lists of kinship terms for the three principal Ao groups, viz. Chongli, Mongsen, and Changki. Additional material is available in the important dictionary by E. W. Clark (1911) and the grammar by Mrs. Clark (1893), as well as in the LSI account (by A. W. Davis). Ao is the best known of all the Naga languages, yet the obscure vowels of the language have played havoc with the conventional systems of orthography employed in this area, with the result that many matters in re Ao phonology still remain to be cleared up. In the discussion that follows the vowel written y̧ by the Clarks is interpreted as ü, thus bringing more nearly into line the Clark and Mills systems of orthography.

601 The Ao terms used in address differ at many points with those used in reference, the two sets of terms tending to complement each other. Mills has separated these two sets and has given complete data on each of them, hence we have followed his lead in the tabulation below. The affinal nomenclature of Ao presents especial problems, which are reserved for discussion in the notes.

Ao (Chongli) Consanguineal Terms

(address)

(o-)tsü	gM	(o-)pu	gF
(u-)ca	M	(o-)ba	F
(u-)ca-tan-zü	MoSi	(o-)ba-tam-bu	FoB
(u-)ca-ta-nu-zü	MySi,MBD	(o-)ba-ta-mu-bu	FyB
(o-)nü	FSi	(o-)k'u	MB,MBS
(o-)ya	oSi,pC	(u-)ti	oB,pC
(tü-)nü	ySi,pC,D,pNi,BD(ws)	(to-)pu	yB,pC,S,pNe,BD(ws)
(a-)mu	FSiD,SiD(ms)	(a-)nok	FSiS,SiS(ms)

sam-cir gCh

(reference)

(to-)tsü	gM	(to-)pu	gF
(te-)tsü	M	(to-)bu	F
(tü-)yi	oSi	(ti-)ti	oB

(to-)mu ySb

(i-)cir te-tsü	D	(i-)cir	S

Notes:

The elements within parentheses are all to be regarded as prefixes of (ultimately) pronominal origin. Mongsen makes a distinction between a- (= Chongli -a, -o, -u) and kü-, e.g. a-ba "my father" (address or reference) in speaking to an intimate acquaintance, but kü-ba "my father" in speaking as a witness in court, etc. (vide Mills, 1926, p. 345). For some terms only the kü- (or tü- in description) prefix is available, e.g. kü-nu "my yB" (cf. Thado ka-nau yB as opposed to he-e oB, etc.). A third prefix, i-, is used in i-car "my child"; contrast kü-nok "my dao", kü-k'et "my hand", with i-ki "my house", i-cau "my cooking pot" (kü- implies more intimate contact).

The arrangement of the Ao terms is clear enough, and an interesting pattern is presented, with 'Omaha' features in the collateral nomenclature and equation of ySb with Ch and all N except SiCh(ms), this latter in the vocative terminology only. The analysis of the individual terms, however, presents almost insuperable difficulties (vide supra). Clark writes many forms with an -r suffix, which has both a verbal "existential" force and a nominal collective force, e.g. Sangtam-r "a Sangtam" (i.e. "one of a body of Sangtam men"), sāmen-r "a village councillor" (cf. Mills, p. 337). In Mills' list this suffix appears only in the term i-cir Ch (sam-cir gCh), te-cir "young (humans)", as contrasted with te-ca-nu "young (of beasts)". The original form with final -a is retained in te-ca-nu and in za-la D, ja-ba-so S (Clark), cf. Mongsen i-car Ch (kü-sam-car gCh), and Thukomi a-zarr Ch (TB *za). In Chongli final -a has been replaced by -i after affricates and sibilants, as in ci "to eat", Mongsen ca; ši "flesh", Mongsen a-sa.

601 Te-tsü M corresponds to the feminine suffix (animals) te-tsür cited by Clark, an[illegible]-tsü ~ to-tsü gM appears to contain the same element. Clark cites te-bur "male (human)", te-bu F (te-tsü M), o-bu gF (o-tsü gM), and te-bu ~ te-bu-ti "familiar term for boy", indicating that Mills' distinction between -pu and -bu forms is not justified. The term o-ba F, used in address only, shows a retention of the original -a vocalism of this root (cf. Ahi Lolo ʼa-ba F rather than the expected form *a-bo). Ao also uses -ba as a masculine suffix (persons), paired with -la (feminine), directly connected with the Kuki feminine suffix *la (a-nü-la "girl", za-la D).

Ao tü-nü ySi and to-nu ySb must be regarded as distinct terms, despite their similarity. Clark cites te-nü ~ te-nü-la "familiar term for girl", o-nü-la Ni, apparently from nü "man (homo)" < TB *mi (vide infra), but te-nu yB, ta-nu-tsü ySi (with -tsü feminine suffix), ta-nur Ch (but nu in many combinations), te-ca-nu "young (of beasts)", and la-nu Ch, also "tender" (cf. Kuki *nou, showing a like semantic association).

The two terms for oSi, viz. o-ya and tü-yi, are perhaps from a single root, but this cannot be demonstrated; Clark has te-yi oSi, a-yir "unmarried girl" (Mongsen la-ya-ti).

The FB and MSi terms are purely analytical formations; cf. tam-bur "old", ta-nur "young", tan-tsür "old" (Clark). The roots are *tan (-n > -m before b-) "old" and (ta-)*nu "young" (supra), to which have been added the elements -bu (male) and -zü (= -tsü) (female). Ao *tan "old" is directly

60 comparable with Kuki *tar, id., since Ao regularly replaces final -r by -n, e.g. an ~ en "fowl" < Kuki *ar; ben "flower" < Kuki *bar; sen "new", Kuki *sar (with an assimilative e < a shift before the final dental).

The Ao affinal nomenclature reflects the clan affiliations of the relatives in question and hence cannot conveniently be tabulated. A few affinal terms are constant, but most of them vary as indicated. The four key terms are o-k'u "male of the speaker's mother's phratry", o-nü "female of speaker's phratry, first ascending generation", a-nok "son of a woman of the speaker's phratry", and a-mu "daughter of a woman of the speaker's phratry" (cf. Mills, p. 175). As stressed by Mills, the Ao tend to interpret all affinal relationships in terms of consanguineal:

> If no relationship can be traced through the father, some can be traced through the mother if you go back far enough. The Ao simply does not contemplate relationships solely by marriage, with no blood-relationship whatever on either side. (p. 175)

Thus, o-k'u is used for FSiH, WF, HF, SiH when of Ego's M's phratry, and o-nü is used for MBW, WM, HM when of Ego's phratry (o-nü is restricted to relatives of first ascending generation, hence a-mu rather than o-nü is used for BW). In a more extended sense, o-k'u is also applied to FSiH when descended from a man of Ego's M's phratry. A-nok is generally employed in a contrasting sense, e.g. it is used for Fl when not of Ego's M's phratry, "it being assumed in this case that his mother must be of speaker's phratry" (Mills, p. 165), and

601 for FSiH when descended through his mother from a man of Ego's phratry. O-k'u, however, is generally applied to HB, regardless of clan affiliation, though in some villages a-nok is used if his mother is of Ego's phratry; this points to the honorific nature of the term o-k'u (cf. Kuki pu gF,MB,MBS).

Even three or four possibilities appear in some of the affinal terms for female kin, e.g. MBW is called o-nü (=FSi) if of Ego's phratry, o-tsü (=gM) if of Ego's gM's phratry, and a-mu if descended through her mother from a man of Ego's phratry. In addition to these three terms, a fourth possibility exists in the case of Ml, who is called u-ca-tan-zü or u-ca-ta-mu-zü (=MoSi,MySi) if of Ego's M's phratry (these terms are also applied to FBW under like conditions). Note also that WBS is called o-pu (=gF) if of Ego's gF's phratry, and that WBD is called o-tsü (=gM) if of Ego's gM's phratry, while a-nok and a-mu are applied otherwise, "the necessary descent being assumed".

The distinct affinal terms in Ao include the following: (kü-)za-ba WSiH (descr. tü-za-ba); (ka-)bang SiH(oms) when not of Ego's M's phratry (a-nok used for SiH,yms), (o-)bang Sl (descr. ta-bang) if his mother is not of Ego's phratry (a-nok is the other term here, as above); (kü-)t'ang SiH(ws) when not of Ego's M's phratry (o-k'u is the other term). Dl is called u-ca-ta-mu-zü (= MySi) if of Ego's M's phratry, otherwise a-mu, "the necessary relationship being assumed", while ta-mu is the descriptive term.

It is evident that, in addressing or referring to affinal kin, the Ao are more concerned with clan affiliations than with generations. Note that o-nü is restricted to relatives of the first ascending generation, both in the consanguineal and the affinal nomenclature, as contrasted with o-k'u, which cuts across generation lines in both nomenclatures (as is consistent with the Omaha system).

Mongsen and Changki agree in many respects as opposed to Chongli, with Changki showing the more interesting variations of the two.

Ao (Changki) Consanguineal Terms

(address)

(a-)zü	gM	(a-)owo	gF
(a-)ya (a-)la	M	(a-)ba	F
(a-)ya-ja-mu	MoSi	(a-)ba-jam-ba	FoB
(a-)nu-zai	MySi, MBD	(a-)sa	FyB
(a-)ta	FSi, oSi, pC	(a-)k'u	MB, MBS
		(a-)nga	oB, pC
(kü-)nu	ySb, pC		
(kü-)mi	FSiD, SiD(ms)	(kü-)mnak	FSiS, SiS(ms)
(a-)ti	SiD(ws)	(a-)ki	SiS(ws), S
(kü-)sa-ba	Ch, pM, BCh(ws)		
(kü-)sam-cür	gCh		

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Ao (Changki) Consanguineal Terms

(reference)

(te-)zü gM
(tü-)wo gF
(ti-)yu M
(tü-)ba F
(te-)ta oSi
(tü-)nga oB
(tü-)nu ySb
(te-)ca-la
(te-)ca-ba S
(tü-)sam-cür gCh

Notes:

For the distinction between the prefixes a- (used with terms for relatives older than Ego) and kü- (used with terms for relatives younger than Ego), see the discussion above.

A-ya is the standard term for "M", but a-la is used for women of the Lungchari clan; in Mongsen the standard term is a-ü (a-vu by Davis in LSI), while a-la is used for women of the Achamr, Alapachar, and Yimchenchar clans.

Changki has an especial term for FyB (a-sa), but Mongsen conforms to the Chongli pattern (a-ba-zam-ba FoB, a-ba-nü-za-ba FyB). Changki equates FoSi with oSi (a-ta), while Mongsen equates FSi with oSb (a-ti), i.e. these terms are applied to "females older than Ego of Ego's clan". The tendency to disregard generations, already noted in Chongli, is here carried to its logical extreme, resulting in the complete loss of the basic term for FSi (Chongli o-nü).

Changki has a different term for oB, viz. a-nga (cf. Ntenyi Rengma a-nga Ch), and a neuter term for ySb (kü-nu).

601 Mongsen approaches Chongli in distinguishing between tü-ba or kü-mu yB and tü-ti-la ySi (with feminine suffix -la), which are partially equated with the Ch terms, viz. tü S, tü-ti-la D (i-car in reference). Changki (a-)ta appears to be distinct from Mongsen (a-)ti, the latter being represented by Changki (a-)ti SiD(ws), (kü-)ti MSiS, (a-)ti-mu MSiD, of Ego's phratry and of the same age as Ego. The ordinary Sb terms are applied to MSiCh when either older or younger than Ego. Changki (a-)ki SiS(ws),S cannot be matched in Chongli or Mongsen.

Changki and Mongsen kü-mnak, Changki kü-mi and Mongsen kü-mo, closely parallel Chongli a-nok and a-mu, respectively. Mongsen has kü-bang SiH(ms), for Chongli ka-bang SiH(oms), but Changki uses the term kü-ca-nak-ba (SiH,ms), based on kü-ca-ba S and kü-mnak. Changki also has a distinct term kü-hram, applied to MB (Chongli o-k'u or a-nok, Mongsen a-k'u) and to SiH(ws), i.e. Bl(ws), which can be directly related to Lhota o-hrã. Mongsen has kü-t'ung SiH(ws), for Chongli kü-t'ang, id., but in Changki this term is represented by i-t'ung BW(ws). Kü-za-ba FSiH extends unaltered through all three Ao dialects.

In general, the Changki nomenclature is an archaic and rather distinct variant of the standard (Chongli) Ao, with Mongsen displaying a mixture of Changki and Chongli features, e.g. equating FSi with oSi as in Changki but distinguishing between yB and ySi as in Chongli.

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The identification of the individual terms of the several Naga languages with TB or Kukish roots is a matter of utmost difficulty, and in many cases no definite conclusions can be reached. A few noteworthy results have been attained here, however, and are presented in the following discussion.

The P and gF terms are especially difficult, though the root *pa F can be traced with some assurance. The correspondences for original final -a are indicated in the following table, in which the terms for "Ch" are included (Chongli vacillates between -u and -o as recorded in various sources, and has -i after c-); note the peculiar treatment of initials in Nzong Rengma. Angami and Sema have the Chongli type of shift, e.g. Sema pu F, po-ngu "5".

	Kukish	Nzong	Ntenyi-Anyo	Lhota	Chongli	Mongsen-Chongli
father	*pa	pfü	pa	po	bu	ba
five	*ba-nga	pfü	ma-nga	mu-ngo	po-ngo	p'a-nga
fish	*ngya	tsü-hü	a-nga	o-ngo	a-ngo	a-nga
ten	*ta-ra	tsa-rü	te-ra ta-a	ta-ro	tü-r	te-ra
child	*za	-	tsa	tso	ci-r	ca-r
eat	*dza	-	tsa	tso	ci	ca

It is more than likely that the Kukish and TB root *pu ~ *p'u gF is represented in these Naga languages, but the point is difficult to establish. Sema has pu F (< *pa), a-pu-za gF, but Angami distinguishes between po F (< *pa) and pu-tsa-o gF. The Pepfüma clans of the Angami, however, use pvu F, pvu-tsa gF;

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cf. the Ntenyi Rengma equation of gF with F (a-pa). Changki has a-owo gF but a-ba F, and Mongsen has a-ow gF, a-ba F, but in Chongli the distinction is less sure (vide supra). Ntenyi a-la ggM, Anyo a-la gM, and Mongsen-Changki a-la M apparently have been derived from the general Kukish root *la "female". Cf. also Lhota o-tsü gM, o-mo-tsü gF, and Chongli o-tsü (Mongsen-Changki a-zü) gM (descr. to-tsü), te-tsü M (descr.), also "feminine suffix".

At least two roots for "M" are present in these languages. Of the two sets of terms found throughout most of this area, the more "standard" set point to a root *ya (cf. Abor-Miri yo < *ya gM), viz. Angami zo, Sema za, Ntenyi a-za (also applied to gM), Anyo a-za, Lhota o-yo, Chongli u-ca, Changki a-ya. Secondary M terms are represented by Angami pfü, Ntenyi a-pfu, Anyo a-wo, Lhota o-pfu, perhaps all from the Kukish root *pui "female, mother". The "standard" Rzong term a-vyü may also belong here, as well as the "standard" Mongsen term a-vü ~ a-vu. As in Kukish, the TB root *ma M is not represented.

TB *ni FSi is represented by Angami nya ~ nye, Sema ni, Rzong a-nü, Ntenyi-Anyo a-nyi, and Chongli o-nü. Lhota has o-no FSi, with aberrant vocalism; cf. also Southern Lhota a-ngi MBW,Ml (Northern o-no FSi).

The Naga languages, like the Tibeto-Burman languages in general, show more diversity in the terms for MB than in those for FSi. The most widespread root is that represented by Angami mi, Rzong and Anyo a-mi, Ntenyi a-mi (also used for ggF),

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Lhota o-mo (also used in o-mo-tsö gF). This root cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, nor can any comparisons be suggested. The Sema term a-ngu MB is certainly distinct from the above, but Sema a-mu OB may belong there (cf. Mongsen-Changki FSi=oSi).

Of especial importance is the appearance of the TB root *k'u MB in three of these Naga languages, since this root does not occur elsewhere in Kukish, though present both in Mikir and Meithei (Kukic). Chongli o-k'u, Mongsen-Changki a-k'u MB,Fi show the root in its typical setting, and Ntenyi e-k'u HF,WB(os), Anyo e-k'u HF,WSiH show the same root in a Kachin-type setting. A third type of setting is found in the Sema term a-ci FSiH,WB. The phonetic development here is perfectly regular (-i < -u after k-, c-, ž-), initial c- having been developed from k- before the front vowel -i, resulting in occasional doublet forms (c- in Eastern Sema, k- in Western Sema, according to Bor and Pawsey's notation on the word "smoke").

	Tibeto-Burman	Lushei	Meithei	Sema
uncle (MB)	*k'u	-	i-ku	a-ci
smoke	*mei-k'u	mei-k'u	k'u	a-m-ci (E.S.) a-m-ki (W.S.)
cough	*k'ŭ	k'uʔ	k'u	i-ci ik-ki
liquor	*yu	zu	yu	a-ži*
rat	*yu	(sa-)zu	-	a-ži*

*Note: Sema a-ži "liquor" (high tone), "rat" (low tone).

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197 In the Sb nomenclature, only the Kukish and TB root *nau ySb can be traced with certainty. As in Lohupa and Western Kuki, the root is often used here in the meaning "Ch". The forms are as follows: Angami no, Sema and Ao nu, Anyo a-nu, Lhota nyu(-vo). Some of these forms may have been derived from the parallel Kukish root *nou "young, tender" rather than from *nau, but we have very little comparative material bearing on this point (cf. Sema a-ngu "monkey", Lushei ngau). For the root *sa Ch, vide supra. Another root for "Ch" can be traced in Ntenyi Rengma a-nga Ch, Sema a-nga "baby", Lhota o-ngo (< *nga) "boy", and perhaps Changki a-nga oB. Lhota o-ta oSb, Changki a-ta oSi, and Nzong Rengma a-da FoB, are comparable with the TB root *ta ~ *da oB,gF. Of all the Naga languages, Anyo appears to have the most "normal" Sb and Ch terminology, with a-so oSb, a-nu ySb, a-tsa Ch.

Angami su ~ tsu FSiS,ySiS(ms),gS, Nzong Rengma a-cu-gü and Ntenyi Rengma a-zu-ve FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh, Anyo Rengma a-zü FSiCh,xpN,gCh suggest that the TB root *su gCh has been preserved in these languages. The initial z- of the Ntenyi and Anyo forms further suggest that the TB original was *zu rather than *su, but none of this evidence is conclusive.

The Naga languages appear to retain the Kukish affinal roots *mou Dl and *mak Sl. The latter is represented by Angami na, Sema a-ma(-ke-aju), Nzong ta-mu, Ntenyi e-ta-myun, Anyo e-ta-mu, Lhota o-nyak-o, Mongsen-Changki kü-mak, Chongli a-nok. The initial n- < m- shift reflected in the Angami and Chongli forms is one of the more striking

601 peculiarities of Naga phonology. In Chongli this shift is
19'1 ordinarily conditioned by a following -i vowel (Clark writes a-niok-ba "bride", ta-niok-ba "bridegroom"), as shown in the table below:

	Kukish	Lhota	Chongli	Mongsen
S1	*mak	o-myak-o	a-nok	kö-mak
man (homo)	*mi	-	nü	a-mi
name	*ming	o-myang	te-müng	-
eye	*mik	o-myek	te-nok	te-nik
ripe	*min	o-hme	ta-men*	te-ning
spear	-	-	nü	a-mi

*Note: Irregular in Chongli, perhaps because of the vocalism.

Kukish *mou D1 is represented by Angami mie(-pfü) ∾ me, Sema a-mu(-ke-žiu), Nzong Rengma a-mo, Chongli a-mu, and Mongsen kö-mo (Changki kö-mi is probably distinct). The vocalic correspondences with Kukish -ou (Meithei -au, Lushei -o) can be established for Angami and Sema, with one parallel also for Chongli and Nzong.

	Meithei	Lushei	Angami	Sema	Nzong	Chongli
D1	i-mau	mo	me mie	a-mu	a-mo	a-mu
field (jhum)	lau	lo	le	lu	lo	a-lu
call	kau	ko	ke	ku	-	-
fly n.	-	t'o	t'e	a-m-t'u*	-	-

*Note: Angami t'e as found in t'e-vi and t'e-zo "fly"; Sema "horse-fly, gadfly" (prefix as in Lakher ma-t'eu-pa, Khami ma-t'au ∼ pa-t'au "fly").

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197 Mongsen a-lu "field" as in Chongli (Mills, note 2 to p. 111), but Mongsen ngo "to bite", Chongli ngu (Mills, text on p. 361), showing the same correspondence as Mongsen kü-mo Dl, Chongli a-mu.

Chongli ka-bang SiH(oms), a-bang Sl, Mongsen kü-bang SiH(ms) can be compared with Tib. 'a-bang FSiH,MSiH. Lhota o-hrã Bl(ws), Changki kü-hram, id. are perhaps connected with the Kukish root *rang FSiH,HF. Other affinal terms appear to be local formations restricted to a single language.

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601 The Naga tribes, like the linguistically related Kuki tribes to the south, are without exception patrilineal and patrilocal, to judge from the available material. Both Hutton and Mills, our chief authorities on these tribes, stress the fact that descent through females is not recognized in any way.

Exogamous clans, which tend to break down into exogamous kindreds, are everywhere present. There are also indications of moiety divisions among some tribes, but the material is difficult to interpret. Hutton tends to exaggerate the correlation of these divisions with the distribution of the terms for "M" and "F", e.g. in his discussion of the Rengma organization in his introduction to Mill's work on the Lhota (1922), as emphasized by Mills himself. The data may be resumed as follows:

Angami: Two kelhu ("generations", a makeshift term, vide Hutton, 1921a, note 1 to p. 113), the Pezoma and Pepfüma. The

601 Pezoma use the terms zo M, po F, while the Pepfüma use the terms pfü M, pvu F. The Chakrima section of the Angami are almost all Pezoma, while the Tengima are mixed. The kelhu are not exogamous now, but perhaps formerly were (cf. the pedigrees collected by Hutton). The real exogamous units are the clan (thino), or the kindred (putsa, from a-po F and tsa "side", according to Hutton, note 1 to p. 115). Hutton notes, however, that "marriages even within the kindred are not nowadays unknown" (p. 114).

Kezhama: According to Hutton (1921a), probably to be grouped with the Pezoma division of the Angami, since they employ the terms a-zo M, a-pfo F (= a-po).

Sopvoma (Mao, Memi): Our four sources on this tribe (Hutton, Hodson, Shakespear, Bose) all differ. Hutton (1921a, pp. 111-12) describes three divisions, one of which (Kachima) does not intermarry with the other two (Chakrima, Chovoma). The Kachima are thus endogamous (not within village), but may marry outside the tribe. Hodson (p. 75) describes four clans in the Sopvoma village of Liyai, grouped in pairs (Doe and Kopumai, Yena and Bekon). The two groups are said to intermarry, "but not to any very great extent", indicating that these moieties tend to be endogamous rather than exogamous. Shakespear, in a note to Hutton's work on the Angami (1921a, p. 117), states that different systems are in vogue in different Sopvoma villages; thus, at Shongashon there are four khels arranged in two exogamous pairs; at Kalanamei there are six khels, two of which form an exogamous group in opposition to three others, while the sixth intermarries with both groups; three other villages are divided into khels which are exogamous but not grouped (the Assamese term khel, properly used only in the sense of a geographical unit within a village, is here employed in the [illegible] "clan"). Bose, our fourth authority, states (pp. 20-21) that lower and upper khels are found in the villages of Sungsung, Robenamai, and Kalinamai, but gives no further details.

Sema: Twenty-two main clans, with no trace of dual organization and with only one set of terms for "A" and "F". These clans may be grouped in a number of different ways according to ceremonies, food taboos, etc., but none of these divisions is of basic type. Many of the clans have split into two or more exogamous divisions, as among the Angami. Several different clans (ayeh~ayah, cf. Angami naiyeh "family") may be represented in a single khel (asah) within a given village.

Rengma: Six exogamous groups are found among the Western Rengma (Nzong and Ntenyi), each with two or more clans, with the exception of the large Kentennenyu clan (Group VI). The employment of P terms follows a rather complicated pattern, according to Mills (the account in Hutton, 1921a, p. 361, must be entirely discarded). The Ntenyi ordinarily use the terms a-za M, a-la gM, but a person whose eyes have become irritated uses the terms a-pfu M, a-za-k'i gM, regardless of the clan affiliations either of the speaker or of the woman addressed. The regular terms among the Nzong clans ar a-vyü M, a-ni gM. Women of the Tsalangu clan, however, must be addressed as a-psü (M) and a-gü (gM), while women of the Sampinyu, Tepinyu, and Khinsonyu clans may be addressed with either set of terms. Among the Eastern Rengma (Anyo), several clans are found in each village. With the exception of three "linked" clans found at the village of Lephori, these clans are not grouped in any manner. The Tsori clan, however, is recognized as quite distinct from the other clans, e.g. it uses the term a-wo M rather than a-za, and has different gennas.

Lhota: Three phratries (Tompyaktserre, Izumonsterre, Mipongsandre), each with several clans (chibo), which in turn are in some cases split up into kindreds (mhitso = "tail"). Mills writes (p. 87): "Strictly speaking a man ought to take his wife from a phratry other than his own", but goes on to state that simple clan exogamy is common, especially among the Southern Lhota, and that marriage between different kindreds of a single clan is sometimes permitted. This disregard of phratry affiliations is believed to be of recent origin, and to be motivated by economic factors connected with the practice of son-in-law service, i.e. a man selects a girl nearby so that he may work both his father-in-law's and his own parents' fields (the same explanation is given by Bose in re the tendency toward village endogamy among the Aimol, an Old Kuki tribe). The term o-yo M is applied by the Northern Lhota to women of the Izumonsterre phratry, while o-pfu is the general term for women of the

601 Tempyaksterre phratry and of the Ezong clan of the Mipongsandre phratry, as well as the Southern Lhota term for women of the Izumonsterre phratry. Usage is said to very among three other Mipongsandre clans (Mills apparertly had no data on a few clans).

__Sangtam__ (Thukomi): Several exogamous groups of clans (i.e. phratries), viz. Tongre, Chingre, Lebitongre, Mongsarre, Lemkitongre, Anarre (Mills, 1931); cf. the Lhota -rre ~ -re suffix, and the Ao -r collective termination.

__Ao__: Each of the Chongli and Mongsen sections has three strictly exogamous phratries, with several clans in each phratry. The Mongsen phratries are unnamed, while the Chongli phratries are known by the name of the principal clan, viz. Pongenr, Lungkam, and Chamir (note -r termination). The phratries of the two sections are equated, and intermarriage is forbidden between two phratries so equated. Many of the clan names have a final element -cir (Chongli) or -car (Mongsen), connected with the root for "Ch" (vide supra); cf. also Mongsen pa-car "clan"(ms), pa-ca-lar, id. (ws), where Chongli has ki-dong "clan" (ms), apparently derived from ki "house" and s'ong-dong "tree". The Ao are guilty of a bit of etymologizing here, since they identify this element with the phonetically identical root for "eat" (Chongli ci, Mongsen ca), and invent stories to explain clan names such as o-ci-car "sparrow-eaters", and even a-ni-car "sun-eaters"! Hutton (Mills, 1926, note to p. 21) is misled by this quasi-totemistic interpretation, but Mills seems to have grasped the true significance of the names. The Chongli and Mongsen sections are often represented in a single village, and freely intermarry. Mills discounts reports that these sections are exogamous, or have been so within recent times. The Changki section, linguistically akin to the Mongsen, lacks phratries but is divided into five exogamous groups, one of which consists of four linked clans, the others of one clan each. Mills states (p. 162) that "custom ordains what clans may intermarry", but gives no further details. Each of the Ao sections (dialects) has its own terms for "M" and "F", with no distinctions based on clan affiliations.

In general, the Naga tribes show several types of social organization rather than a single pattern. Dual organization is more in evidence in the south among the Angami and Sopvoma, and tripartite organization in the north among the Ao and Lhota, with Sema and Rengma having distinctive patterns of their own. Exogamous moieties cannot be established for any of the Naga tribes, nor can any general correlation be made between dual groupings and the employment of two sets of P terms.

The several Naga nomenclatures resemble one another in showing 'Omaha' features, usually complete, and numerous categorical equations indicative of cross-cousin marriage. The 'Omaha' features tend to be of Kuki type. In Angami, Nzong, Ntenyi, Anyo (i.e. Angami and Rengma), gCh is equated with FSiCh,SiCh(ms), and in Lhota the terms for gCh are suspiciously like those for FSiCh,SiCh(ms), but Sema equates gCh with Ch, and Ao has a distinct term for gCh. Anyo is

601 exceptional in equating both pN and xN with FSiCh,gCh. The equation of MB with gF, a Kuki trait, is not characteristic of these Naga languages, yet does occur in Anyo, while Ntenyi equates MB with ggF and Lhota shows a partial equation of MB with gF (o-mo MB and o-mo-tsü gF). MBD is equated with MSi or MySi rather than with gM, thus contrasting with the Kuki system. In the Rengma group the equations of MBS with MB and MBD with MSi appear only in the terms used in address and (with one exception) only when the person addressed is older than speaker. In Angami these equations do not appear in any form, only personal names being applied to MBCh. Note that in collateral terminology Angami and Rengma tend to resemble each other, both in equating FSiCh,SiCh(ms) with gCh (perhaps both retain the TB root *su gCh, vide supra) and in weakening or dispensing with the equation of MBS with MB.

In Angami and Sema only two Pl terms are in use (MB and FSi). Ntenyi and Anyo have three Pl terms, viz. WF (= MB), HF, and WM,HM (= FSi), while FSiH is equated with WF;MB. Sema has an especial term for FSiH (a-ci), etymologically related to the Ntenyi-Anyo term for HF (e-k'u), but has only a single term for WF,HF. Nzong and Lhota also have distinct terms for FSiH, not related to the above. In Ao the terms for Ml and Fl are dependent on the clan affiliations of these affinal kin, and no exclusively affinal terms are used in this connection. The Ao terms a-mu FSiD,SiD(ms) and a-nok FSiS, SiS(ms) are properly affinal, as shown in the comparative study

601 above, and have here displaced a consanguineal term (probably *su) through the equation of S1S(ms) with S1 (cf. Kachin).

Cross-cousin marriage is certainly present among most of the Naga peoples, though perhaps lacking in the south among the Angami and Sopvoma. Hutton (1921a) does not bring up this point in his discussion of Angami marriage practices, but Butler, an older and less reliable authority, writes that " it is altogether forbidden for cousins to intermarry" (p. 322). Bose states that cross-cousin marriage is not practised by the Sopvoma (Mao), but notes that the Sopvoma nomenclature is indicative of it. A Sema man may not marry his wife's mother, but may marry practically any other female relative of his own mother on her father's side, and may even marry his MS1D or his FS1D, though marriage with FS1D is regarded as unfertile; the preferred marriage, however, is with MBD (vide Hutton, 1921b, pp. 131-32). Marriage with MBD can be inferred for the Rengma from the following statement in Mills (1937, p. 137): "Nor may a man quarrel with his wife's father, who is classed with, and often is, his MB" (Mills makes no explicit reference to the type of marriage indicated here). Among the Lhota, a man may not marry his MS1D, his FS1D, or his S1D (cf. o-hro-vo FS1D,S1D,ms), but is permitted to marry his MBD, and is "rather expected to take his wife from his mother's clan" (Mills, 1922, p. 95). Mills' account of the Ao marriage restrictions (1926, p. 163) appears to be confused. According to this source, an Ao man may not marry his FS1D, nor a woman her FSiS. If the latter be true, it follows that a man may not marry his MBD, yet Mills deliberately omits this in his list of restrictions for a man. Both Hutton and Mills seem to have slighted the question of marriage with collateral and affinal kin, as is amply evident from the above account, and it seems certain that better information on this problem will reveal a number of significant features.

The mother's brother occupies an especial position both among the Sema (Hutton, 1921b, p. 137) and the Rengma (Mills, 1937, p. 137). He must be respectfully addressed, and on no account is to be offended or quarreled with. According to the Rengma, he is "like a god", and can even demand small presents from his nephew (SiS). Among the Sema, a man gives a present (aghasho) to his SiD upon her marriage, and her husband is obliged to make a return. After the death of his father, a man is under the same obligation toward his FSiD, i.e. his FSiD is equated (ceremonially) with his own SiD (cf. Sema a-ti-ke-šiu FSiCh,SiCh,ms) and, from the woman's point of view, her MBS is equated with her MB (cf. Sema a-ngu MB,MBS).

A final point to be considered here is the occasional marriage with F's widow (other than one's own M), which has been reported for the Sema (Hutton, 1921b, p. 136) and the Lhota (Mills, 1922, p. 95), but is definitely stated to be forbidden among the Ao (Mills, 1926, p. 163). Among the Sema this practise is largely confined to chiefly or rich families, and appears as a device whereby a widow retains some control over

601 her husband's property (inheritance among the Naga tribes is everywhere restricted to the male line). Among the Lhota, "such marriages, though pretty common, are viewed with a certain amount of disfavor" (Mills, op. cit.). Majumder has applied Rivers' theories to the Sema, with emphasis on this practice of marriage with F's widow, e.g. a-ngu is used both for WB and MB because these two relatives are identical after marriage to F's widow. The inadequacy of this *ad hoc* explanation should be sufficiently clear from the present study as a whole, and more especially from the sections devoted to the Kuki and Naga groups.

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17. Review of Tibeto-Burman

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The present section has been written with a two-fold view in mind, viz. a provisional reconstruction of the archaic Tibeto-Burman kinship nomenclature and a synthesis of material bearing on the general problem of the factors that have produced changes in this archaic system. It is of course impossible to realize either of these goals in any complete sense. The reconstruction of a set of kinship terms differs very little from the reconstruction of any other group of terms, e.g. those for animals. In each case certain phonetic generalizations must be followed, and in each case original meanings must be assigned to roots on the basis of a series of fluctuating connotations. The difficult problem of "partial equations", in which a given root has a limited distribution, arises here precisely as in any other linguistic field (for a good recent discussion, vide Scherer, 1941). A distinction between the two types of reconstruction can be drawn, however, in the fact that kinship terms constitute a definite system whereas those for animals, parts of the body, or the like, do not constitute such a system. It is fairly evident that, within kinship nomenclature, a semantic shift at one point is likely to be reflected at another, or, in sociological terms, a single factor, e.g. cross-cousin marriage, is likely to produce a series of interrelated changes, whereas this in general does not hold true within other linguistic spheres. In this respect a kinship nomenclature might be compared with

SA a phonemic system, in which similar integration appears. The
121 point is not worth elaborating, since the fact that a kinship
601 ST terminology does constitute a system hardly relieves us of the
121 task of investigating each element of that system, both inde-
601 pendently and correlatively.

In any piece of historical reconstruction, linguistic or other, the natural tendency is to make the prototype unduly complex. The writer has often been struck by the complexities shown by hypothetical reconstructed languages as compared with their actual living descendants, as though linguistic evolution always proceeded in the direction of simplification. The number of distinct roots assigned to these reconstructed languages is sometimes of staggering magnitude, and no ingenuity is spared in augmenting this lexicographical harvest. In the present study it would be easy to reconstruct an archaic nomenclature with two or more terms for most relationships, yet such a procedure patently would be futile. It is far better to determine, firstly, which elements are relatively certain, and, secondly, which elements are based largely on "partial equations" and must thus be held in reserve until a basic
SA framework has been set up. Nine roots, eight of which are
601 applied to consanguineal relatives, stand out in our complete
193 Tibeto-Burman series as culled from the foregoing review.
197 These roots constitute the following system:
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Tibeto-Burman Terms

*p'i gM	*p'u gF
*ma M	*p'a F
*ni FSi	*k'u MB
*nau ySb	
*za Ch	
	*mak Sl

The forms given above can be accepted with some confidence as fair approximations of the archaic Tibeto-Burman roots. All except the affinal term *mak have vocalic finals, and it was on the basis of finals or "rhymes" (medial vowel + final consonant), especially of vocalic finals, that Shafer and the writer were able to work out the main features of Tibeto-Burman phonology. Earlier writers had in general attacked the problem from the most difficult angle, that of initials and tones. Thus, no less a scholar than Laufer is responsible for the following absurd dictum:

> Prefixes as well as final consonants....are of minor importance in the comparative study of Indo-Chinese languages.... the staff of comparison remains the initial consonant, and the tone conditioned by it. (TP 17, p. 115).

Prefixes have shown to be of basic importance, while both the initials and the tones have been so influenced by the prefixes that our analysis of them still lags far behind our analysis of the finals. In the above set of terms, however, the only problems in re initials concern the aspiration or lack of aspiration, voicing or unvoicing, of the stop initials of *p'i, *p'u, *p'a, and *k'u. Kukish has *pi gM and *pu gF,

SA but initial aspiration is not well preserved in this group.
601 Mikir has p'i gM, p'u gF, ku < *k'u MB, but po < *pa F.
193 Meithei, which ordinarily preserves aspiration, has pu gF,
197 pa F, and ku FI (< MB). Kachin has ku HF (< MB) rather than
ST the anticipated *k'u, and Burmese has (ats-)kui oB rather than
601 *k'ui. Tibetan has p'yi gM, p'a F, and k'u FB (< MB), while
193 both Tibetan and Kachin have p'u oB (< gF). It may be that
197 one or more of these roots had a sonant rather than a surd initial. Initial g-, a rare element in our comparative material, is perhaps indicated for the MB root (*gu ~ *g'u), but at present nothing definite can be said on this point.

Only one of the above terms is uncertain as regards final, viz. *ni FSi. Classical Tibetan has ne rather than *ni, and Meithei has nem ~ ne rather than *ni, both of which point to an archaic form *nei rather than *ni. The weight of evidence, however, speaks in favor of the reconstruction *ni, from which *nei may have been developed as a doublet root; cf. Kukish *nau ySb, *nou "young, tender", which tend to be confused (vide pt. 15).

The basic gP terms *p'i and *p'u are found together in Barish, Mikir, Meithei, Mru, Kukish, and Burmish-Loloish (but p'e^3 ggF < *p'i in Burmese itself, which has a new term [p'wa^3] for gM). The root *p'i is further retained in its basic meaning in Tibetan, Kanauri (perhaps Tibetan loan-word), Bahing, and Vayu, while Chang has retained it in the meaning "gP". In northern TB groups the root *p'u has been applied

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to oB, viz. in Tibetan, Limbu, Newari (only in combination), Digaro, and Kachin. This semantic interchange also appears in Burmish-Loloish, viz. Moso p'u gF, bu oB, Nyi bu gF, pu oB. The interplay of surd and sonant initials in these Moso and Nyi forms indicates that doublets are involved. In Barish the root *p'i gM (in the form bi) has been applied to oSi, both in the Bodo-Dimasa and Garo divisions of this group, and also retained in its basic meaning. It is clear that these usages are connected with the especial position held by oSb, and that the gP terms function here simply as honorifics. Other TB roots, less widely distributed than the above, show the same type of semantic shift (vide infra). In societies with a patrilineal bias it is only natural that the role of oB should be of more significance than that of oSi, thus perhaps accounting for the relative stability of *p'i as compared with *p'u. It can hardly be without significance that in the single matrilineal group encountered (Barish) the term *p'i gM should have been applied to oSi, in contrast to all other TB groups.

Of the two basic P terms *p'a F and *ma M, the former is the most widely distributed and shows fewer variations. The following groups have this root (*p'a): Tibetan, Kanauri, Byangsi, Bahing, Vayu, Newari, Lepcha, Miri, Dhimal, Burmish-Loloish, Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, Mru, and Kukish. This root commonly appears as a masculine affix, but no instance of a transference to "oB" has been uncovered. The

SA root *ma M appears in Tibetan, Kanauri, Bahing, Vayu, Newari,
601 Lepcha, Dhimal, Burmish-Loloish, Barish, and Meithei. In
193 Burmese itself it is retained only in the terms maˀ Si and
197 a-maˀ "feminine suffix", and in the closely-related Maru only
ST in the meaning "MSi". Yru has preserved this root only in
601 the feminine suffix -ma. A transference to the meaning "oSi"
193 is found in the contiguous North Assam groups Dafla and Aka.
197 In Kachin and the extensive Kukish group this root appears
to have vanished without leaving a trace.

The two PSb terms *ni and *k'u are also unequally represented in Tibeto-Burman. The root *ni FSi is of almost universal occurrence. In its basic meaning it appears in Tibetan, Gyarung, Kanauri, Thebor, Vayu, Newari, Abor-Miri, Nung, Burmish-Loloish (but not in Burmese itself), Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, and Kukish. Kachin has retained it only in the affinal meaning "WM". Aka, if we can trust our inadequate sources, has applied this root to M, while Limbu has applied it to oSi. Replacement by the term for "oSi" is seen in Dafla, Sho, Changki (Ao), and probably Kadu, while Mongsen (Ao) shows replacement by the term for "oSb". The Dafla material indicates that this is an analytical development ("oSi of F"). Lepcha equates FSi with MSi in the term nyu ~ nyo, applied to female relatives in the uterine line. This unusual equation also appears in Bahing, which has mo-mo MSi, FSi (from mo < *ma M), and po-po FB (from po < *pa F), yet has ku-ku MB. Distinct terms have been

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developed in Kachin (moi), which preserves *mi as an affinal term (WM), and in Burmese (ri^3), but *mi is retained in the closely related Maru. The Dimasa term de-de FSi (be-de MB) is likewise distinct.

The much more restricted root *k'u MB is found in its primary meaning in Bahing, Vayu, Abor-Miri, Dafla, Digaro, Nung, Mikir, and Ao. Tibetan has k'u FB, but akud < *k'u Fl,Bl. Himalayish and Lepcha also have k'u FB, probably because of Tibetan influence. Kachin, Meithei, Ntenyi Rengma, and Anyo Rengma have retained the term in the affinal meaning "HF" (Meithei Fl), and Sema in the affinal meaning "FSiH". Chang (Konyak) has the form ko MB, which cannot with certainty be connected with this root. In the Burmish-Lolcish group we can cite only Burmese kui "prefix used with names of persons older or of higher rank than the speaker, or politely of his equals" (ate-kui oB), Akha a-kö B, Ahi kö-pu-li ySiH, and Moso a-gu Bl. The Moso usage is paralleled in the Barish group, where we find Bodo gu-mi, Garo gu-me Bl. This root cannot be traced in the Kuki languages proper, yet can be reconstructed for Kukish on the basis of the Naga terms (supra), and for Kukic in general on the basis of the Mikir and Meithei terms.

The root *nau ySb, occasionally applied either to yB or ySi alone, also to Ch, is well represented in Tibeto-Burman. It appears in the following groups: Tibetan (nu ~ no), Byangsi (yB), Limbu, Lepcha, Aka, Kachin, Konyak, Barish (ySi), Meithei, Mru (yB), and Kukish (ySb ~ Ch). The most conspicuous gaps are those in Abor-Miri-Dafla, Nung, and Burmish-Loloish.

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The eighth and last of the basic consanguineal terms is *sa Ch, which is found in Tsangla, Magari, Miju, Aka, Kachin, Kadu, Nung (za-mi D), Pyu, Burmish-Loloish, Konyak, Barish, Mikir, Meithei, Mru, and Kukish (rarely used for yBb, as in Poeron and Kyaw). Lepcha has a-so < *sa ggF, a-zon gCh (with suffixed -n). This root is conspicuously absent in Tibetan and its dialects (but present in Tsangla, a Bodish language), Himalayish, and Kiranti, i.e. the northern or northwestern band of Tibeto-Burman languages, as well as in the Abor-Miri-Dafla group.

The affinal term *mak Sl appears in Tibetan, Lepcha (< *smak), Dhimal (< *smak), Miri, Kachin (da-ma < *dr-mak), Burmese (sa-mak), Meithei, Mru, and Kukish, with an additional uncertain occurrence in Byangsi. In view of our generally inadequate data on affinal nomenclatures (e.g. we do not have the term for "Sl" in Nung, where we should expect to find this root), the widespread distribution of this root is of increased significance. It would appear that the root is lacking in Himalayish, Mikir, Konyak, and Barish.

The above set of basic terms is supplemented by a series of roots of restricted distribution. Some of these serve mainly as replacements for the basic roots, while others are functionally more independent. Since our set of basic terms is not complete, we must assume that some of these roots represent archaic Tibeto-Burman elements, but this point is best discussed after the various secondary roots have been analyzed.

SA The gF roots *p'i gM and *p'u gF have no serious rivals
601 in Tibeto-Burman. A curious link between Tibetan and Southern
193 Kuki is suggested by the following set of terms: Tib. po ~ spo
197 gF (literary or dialectical), rmo gM (literary), and Sho
ST a-pŏ ~ a-pŏk gF, Chinbon ka-mo gM, Yindu ka-mo gF. A possible
601 root *si is indicated by Balti as-si (= a-si) ggM, Nung a-si
193 gM, Khami a-um-si gF, and Kadu a-si MSi (i-si "woman"), Yindu
197 ka-si FSi, Sho a-si FSi, oSi (cf. the roots *ta and *tei, infra). In general, gP terms show more variation than do P terms; thus, Kachin has developed distinct terms for both gM (woi) and gF (ji), and note forms such as Byangsi ti-ti gF, Bahing and Vayu ki-ki gF.

The most conspicuous of the secondary P roots is *nu M, which appears in Kachin, Miju, Sak, Konyak, Kukish, and perhaps Mikir and Meithei (in combination). The root *pui "mother, female" is restricted to Mikir and Kukish. The Kukish feminine affix *la, used especially of young females, seems to have given rise to Mongsen-Changki (Ao) a-la M, Ntenyi Rengma a-la ggM, Anyo Rengma a-la gM, and cf. Byangsi la-la gM, Sunwari a-la Si. The same root (*la) appears in Kachin, Burmish-Loloish, and elsewhere as a masculine affix. The Tibeto-Burman root *wa "male" serves to explain both Bunan and Kachin wa, Kadu a-wa, Garo (dialects of A type) a-wa F (Moshang and Namsang wa F probably through Kachin influence), Aka au < *a-wa F, Burmese wa-kri^{3} "term of address to old men" (Arakanese dialect), and Lepcha a-vo < *wa, Meithei (ma-)wa, Kukish wa M; cf. also Digaro ma-wa "male",

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Dhimal -wa "masculine suffix", Bodo hewa "male". Some of these forms, however, may have resulted from a phonetic development from *p'a F (probably via *ba).

A root *mei or *me appears sporadically in Tibeto-Burman, sometimes with a dental suffix. This root is parallel to, but distinct from, TB *ma M. The following forms belong here: Tibetan -med "woman" (in bud-med < *bu-med, paralleling bu-smad), Gyarung te-mi ~ te-me "woman", Kanauri -med (suffix in "D" and "Ml"), Chamba Lahuli me "bitch", Limbu met W, Lepcha a-mit "woman", Kadu a-me M, Nung a-me M (cf. Nung a-p'e F), Burmese a-mi' ~ a-me M, and Garo me-cik "woman, wife". Note also the series formed by Burmese sa-mi^3, Aka ma-mi, Nung za-mi D (from *za Ch). Garo gu-me Bl, Mikir me SiH correspond phonetically but can scarcely be fitted in otherwise.

In addition to the above, there are traces of a set of roots *ya and *yu, both applied to female relatives. The former is better attested than the latter; cf. Himalayish (Manchati, Kanashi, Chamba Lahuli) ya M, Abor-Miri and Dafla yo < *ya gM (but in Pagri Miri used for "M" in address), Tableng (Konyak group) ya M, Naga *ya M, also Kanauri yas, Rai (Kiranti) me-ya, Burmese ma-ya^3 W, Digaro mi-ya "woman", ha-mi-ya W. The root *yu is represented only by Kanauri yu-med, Khambu (Kiranti) yuh, Lepcha a-yu W, Lepcha tă-yu "woman", and perhaps Tibetan yu-mo "female of a stag".

Nothing has yet been said of oSb terms, which show a wide variety of forms contrasting with the standard ySb root (*

SA Much of the material in this connection is of a scattered
601 nature from which it is difficult to draw any conclusions.
193 Thus, Byangsi bya, Bahing ya oB, Meithei ya-ma oB, Chawte
197 (Old Kuki) a-ya B, ai-ya oSi, and Khami ya-at ~ ya-â oB
ST suggest an archaic root *ya oB, yet this same element appears
601 in another setting (supra). Burmese ata-kui < *ik-kui oB,
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197 Mikir ik oB lack cognates elsewhere, as do Maru pai oSi, Chonbok pai oSi(ws), unless the latter pair be connected with Burmese a-pai "madam" and perhaps Mikir pei ~ pe M. The characteristic Kukish root u oSb (Central, Northern, and Old Kuki groups only) does not appear elsewhere in this setting, yet appears to be identical to Sho ü M, Taungtha u W, Mru u M, and Burmese u^3 MB (prefixed to names of men considerably older than the speaker), perhaps also Tangkhul a-wǒ gF, MB.

Three or four roots, however, stand out more prominently than the above lot and deserve especial consideration. Tibetan c'e oSi(ws) has been compared with Himalayish *c'e "female" as represented by Kanauri c'ets "female, woman", Kanashi c'ets W (with diminutive suffix -ts) and with the Byangsi-Chaudangsi term c'e xC, as well as with Johar a-ce F. The above terms all point to a TB root *c'ei. A similar root, but apparently with unaspirated initial (*cei), is represented by Konyak jei ~ cei oSb ~ oB, Meithei ce oSi, Tangkhul cei oSb, Western Kuki *cei oSb, Anyo Rengma a-ce oSb. The Tibetan term appears to be etymologically connected with the word c'e-ba "great", from which the respectful term gcen-po oB has been developed.

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A root *ma oSi appears in Murmi, Vayu, Kachin, Andro, and Konyak, while the Almora and Abor-Miri-Dafla groups have *ma M, and Lakher has the vocative term i-ma M. Tibetan mna Dl perhaps also belongs here, though it may be of periphrastic origin (< mna "oath").

The Tibeto-Burman root *ta (often in the form da) is consistently applied to relatives older than Ego, if one regards the Bahing-Vayu root *ta CH as of distinct origin. The following terms can be grouped with this root: Tibetan 'a-ta F (dialectical), oB (Eastern Tibet), Tsangla a-ta oB, Gyarung a-ta-ta F, Johar a-ta oSi, Byangsi ta-ta oSi, Newari ta-ta oSi, Miri and Dafla a-te < *ta gF, Digaro ta gF, da oB, Burmese t'a^3-t'a^3 F (dialectical), Akha a-ta F, Independent Lolo a-ta F, Sho a-ta oB, Chinbon (ka-)t'a oB, Lhota o-ta oSb, Chungli (Ao) a-ta FSi,oSi, Nsong Rengma a-da FoB. Doublet forms are found only in Digaro (ta gF, da oB). Unlike *p'u gF,oB this root has also been applied to F in some languages (Tibetan, Gyarung, Burmese, Akha). Desgodins describes the Tibetan term 'a-ta as a "children's word" (vox puerorum), and in Independent Lolo a distinction is made between a-ta F (used by children) and a-bu ~ a-bo F (used by adults).

Kanauri te-te gF, a-te oB are clearly of a type paralleling that described above. The suggested TB root is *tei, with which can be grouped Byangsi te-te xC(ss), Dafla tĕ-tĕ FyB,oB (in different sources), Kadu a-te oSi, Banpara a-tai oB, Mikir te oSi(ws), Meithei i-tei-ma oSil, and Mru a-tai BW.

SA An objection might be raised to the above discussion on
601 the ground that forms such as *na, *ta, and *tsi (te) are of
193 "nursery word" type and should not be regarded as representing
197 actual TB roots. The writer himself originally ascribed to
ST this general point of view, but the collection of material on
601 which this study is based has led him to discard it. Thus,
193 ta F appears both in the West Tibetan dialects (Balti, Purik)
197 and in the nomad dialects of Eastern Tibet, as well as in the
aberrant Gyarung language, whence we can safely infer a Bodish
root *ta F. The term na oSi appears in five distinct languages
representing two different foci (Murmi-Vayu and Kachin-Andro-
Konyak), and na M in two isolated groups (Almora and Abor-Miri-
Dafla). Distributions of this type are scattered, to be sure,
yet not entirely random. The cluster of connotations (gP,P,oSb)
around these roots is also not without significance.

The majority of the terms for Sb(ds) are of limited distribution. Tibetan sring-mo Si(ms), dialectically used for ySi, appears also in Himalayish (Si) and Byangsi (ySi), with an additional possible occurrence in Dhimal-Toto (Si). Kachin jan < *jar Si(ms), often used for ySi, is directly related to Kukish *dzar Si(ms), which in Western Kuki is used for ySi, and to Meithei i-cal ~ i-can ySi, Kadu sen, Sengmai căl ySi. Kachin yung B(ws) has been compared with the Garo-Dimasa root *yung yB. The tendency to equate Sb(ds) with ySb is reflected in all three roots.

The roots *nau ySb and *za Ch are of almost universal occurrence and have no serious rivals. The former is

SA conspicuously absent in Burmish-Loloish, which has a root
601 *nyi (ní), comparable with Lepcha nyi-t'i gCh. A root *nga is
193 suggested by Murmi and Gurung a-nga ySi, Miri ăng-ă ySb,
197 Dafla ang-a Ch, Naga *nga Ch. Isolated roots *a Ch and *ka Ch
ST are represented by Digaro a, Abor-Miri o < a Ch, and Newari
601 ko, Abor-Miri ko < *ka Ch, respectively.
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197 It will be noted that the set of basic terms presented above lacks all collateral terms as well as a gCh term. Our data on collateral terms are incomplete for many groups, so that negative evidence here is of relatively little value, but it would seem that no root or roots for xC have been developed. The only root of any extension here is *ning, which appears in Kachin (xCe,ws), Chang (xC), Mikir BW(ws), and perhaps Garo (Sbl). The Mikir and Garo affinal meanings can be explained in terms of cross-cousin marriage.

Three or perhaps four TB roots show a tendency to equate N with gCh. Tibetan ts'a Ne (probably SiS,ms),gCh furnishes an example of this tendency. Bahing and Newari have this root (*ts'a) in the meaning "gS", but in the Kiranti languages in general it is used for "S" (see the discussion in pt. 4). Kanauri c'ad Sl (with suffixed -d) has been brought into comparison via SiS(ms), equated with Sl under cross-cousin marriage. Kachin ts'a MB,MBS(ws) can be explained only on the basis of a reciprocal development from SiS(ms). Mikir o-sa SiS(ms),Sl shows an ideal agreement on the semantic side, but the comparison is phonetically dubious. The root *ts'a appears to be lacking in other groups.

SA The roots *su and *tu have distributions which are
601 almost, if not quite, mutually exclusive. *Su gCh appears
193 in Kachin, Bodo, Mikir, and Meithei, while *tu appears in
197 Nung (N), Burmish-Loloish (xN), and Kukish (FSiCh,SiCh,ms,gCh).
ST Anu, a Southern Kuki language, has su xC,ySi(ws),SiCh(ws),gCh,
601 and a-su-lai SiCh(ms), covering much the same ground as
193 Kukish *tu. The roots *su and *tu must be regarded as
197 distinct on general phonetic grounds, and this view is strengthened by the evidence from Meithei, which has i-su gCh as well as (ma-)tu W (cf. the Kuki use of *tu in the meaning "Sl", through cross-cousin marriage). The root *su is perhaps also represented in the Naga languages, in much the same setting as Anu su, viz. Angami cu ~ tsu FSiS,ySiS(ms),gS, Nzong Rengma a-cu-gü, Ntenyi Rengma a-zu-wa, Anyo Rengma a-zü FSiCh,SiCh(ms),gCh, but our knowledge of Naga phonology is not sufficiently advanced to establish this comparison.

A fourth root of the same general type is *ma-li, which is found in Nung (gCh), Burmish-Loloish (gCh), Pyu (gCh), Chang (xN), Garo (SiS,ms), Mikir (xN, probably BCh,ws), and has an additional cognate in Kachin (ma-li "young man"). This root is in general lacking in Kukish, but may be represented by Taungtha lwi Ne,Ni and Yindu (ka-)li BD(ws). It cannot be traced in Tibetan or any of the northern languages.

The affinal root corresponding to *mak Sl is perhaps *nam Dl, but the evidence for the latter root is not altogether satisfactory. Lepcha has nyom < *snam Dl paralleling myok < *smak Sl, and s- prefixed forms are also represented by

SA Kanauri stem < *snem (probably for snăm) Dl, and Barish
601 *snam Dl (based on Dimasa ba-ham, Garo nam). Cf. also
193 Gyarung snom < *snam Si, Burmese hnam < *snam ySi(ms)
197 (inferred from mong-hnam "H and W", where mong means "yB,wa"),
ST Lashi tu-nam Dl, nam-mo ySi(ms), Nyi nö-mo < *nam-mo ySi(ms),
601 and Lushei hnăm < *snăm "clan". The unprefixed form appears
193 in Byangsi nam-sia Dl, Kachin nam Dl,ySil, and Nung nam Sb,
197 while Lepcha has both nyom < *snam Dl and nom < *nam oSi.
Magari ar-năm "girl" also belongs in this series.

Of more restricted distribution are the roots *mou Dl, represented by Kukish mou (Lushei mo), Meithei i-mau, and perhaps Tibetan mo "woman", and *k'rwi Sl, represented by Kachin k'ri Sl,SiCh(ms), Burmese k'rwe^3-ma˥ < *k'rwi^3-ma˥, Lisu c'i-ma Dl (with feminine suffix -ma), and perhaps Lepcha tă-gri "male". The original meanings of these roots may have been simply "female" and "male", respectively.

There remain for consideration a few poorly represented roots connected primarily with the PSb nomenclature. Nung a-tsim MSi is comparable with Tsangla a-zim, id., and Nung a-wang FB with Garo a-wang FyB, also Lashi vang-mo HF,FoSiH, Maru vung ~ vun HF,FSiH (but the Lashi and Maru terms suggest a meaning "MB" rather than "FB"). The *wang series is perhaps connected with Tibetan ᾿a-bang FSiH,MSiH (literary), Limbu (am-)pang-a "uncle", Vayu pong-pong < *pang-pang FB.

Tibetan sru MSi has been compared with Kanauri and Chamba Lahuli ru Fl, Pyu sru "relatives", and the reconstructed

SA Lolo root *ru MB. If these terms actually constitute a true
601 series, we must reconstruct a root *sru ~ *ru "mother's
193 relatives" (neuter), whence Kanauri ru Fl < MB through cross-
197 cousin marriage, paralleling Kanauri c'ad Sl < SiS(ms). The
ST presence of this root in Pyu, at approximately the year
601 A.D. 1000, lends some weight to this view.

193 The fourth Tibetan PSb term, viz. ˀa-žang MB, is found
197 in this form in Thebor and Lepcha, where it must be regarded as a loan-word, but not elsewhere. This form can be derived from an original *zrang and thus compared with Mru ta-rang FSiH,HF, Kukish ta-rang ~ ma-rang, id., and probably Lhota o-nrã, Changki (Ao) (kü-)hram Bl(ws). Burmese a-hrang < *srang (archaic spelling is a-hsyang) "lord, master" also perhaps belongs here rather than with sring-mo Si (supra). The writer has long suspected that Tibetan initial ž- and š- have in many instances been derived from zr- and sr-, respectively, partly because of the general instability of these clusters in Tibetan (cf. srab-srib ~ hrab-hrib ~ rab-rib "dim, obscure"), and partly on the basis of comparative material, viz. Tib. šig "louse", Bunan šrig, Lushei hrik < *srik; Tib. žag "day (24 hours)", Burmese rak, id.; Tib. šags "joke, jest" (in sense of "ridicule"), Bunan šrag "shame", Burmese hrak < *srak "to be ashamed". The root *-rang (prefixed) must have had a generalized honorific force (still retained in Burmese), and thus was admirably suited as a periphrastic term either for MB or for FSiH,HF (= MB under cross-cousin marriage).

SA Having completed our review of Tibeto-Burman kinship
601 roots, we are now faced with the problem of fixing the basic
193 pattern of nomenclature for this linguistic family. The terms
197 designating relatives in the central line of descent naturally
ST form the most stable segment of the nomenclature, while the
601 collateral terms show an intermediate, and the affinal terms
193 a maximum, amount of variation.
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Within this stable core of nomenclature we are able to distinguish two primary gP terms (gM and gF), two primary P terms (M and F), a neuter ySb term, and a neuter Ch term. The two neuter terms are often employed in a masculine sense (yB and S), with sex affixes used in forming the corresponding feminine terms (ySi and D), e.g. Tibetan bu S, bu-mo D, Burmese sa^3 S, sa-mi^3 D. No neuter P terms have been uncovered, but Chang has a neuter gP term (a-pi < *p'i gM) used only in address, and a neuter gP term is also found in Sema (a-pu-za), and in the Southern Kuki languages Sho (a-pŏ) and Ayaing Khami (a-un-ai). Three Southern Kuki languages (Chinbok, Yindu, Anu) make a distinction between FM and MM, but have a single term for gF (Anu FM < M, MM < gM). Four gP terms appear only in rare instances, and are never all primary. Both Tibetan and Kanauri show traces of three or four gP terms, but Kanauri has probably borrowed one or more of its gP terms from Tibetan, and the Tibetan material itself can be interpreted in more than one way. Kachin seems to employ four gP terms, perhaps because of Shan influence, but has only two primary terms (ji gF and woi gM). Garo distinguishes

SA between "gF" (= FF) and "gM" (= FM), and "my gF" (= MF) and
601 "my gM" (= MM), if we can trust our sources for this language.
193 In view of the fact that the Garo are a matrilineal group,
197 this point is of some interest. Chang, which uses the neuter
ST term a-pi gP in address, employs four terms in reference, the
601 FF and FM terms being formed through affixed sex elements,
193 and the MF and MM terms through analysis. Finally, Laiyo,
197 which has an almost exclusively analytical nomenclature,
employs four analytical gP terms.

A number of different arrangements of Sb terms have been encountered. Age distinctions appear everywhere and are, in general, more prominent than sex distinctions. Despite this, however, it would appear that the basic pattern has two primary terms for oB and oSi, contrasting with the single neuter ySb term (*nau). As has been shown above, the widespread tendency to equate oB and oSi with terms for relatives of ascending generations has obscured the general picture here and has made analysis almost impossible. The simplest possible arrangement (oSb and ySb) has been found only in Khami (Ayaing and Awa) and Angyo Rengma. A single primary term for oSb appears also in Kuki proper (u) and in Burmese (ate-), but Burmish-Loloish in general has two primary oSb terms. Nzong Rengma shows a complete reversal of the ordinary pattern, with terms for oSb, yB, and ySi. Tibetan, Lepcha, Dafla, Kachin, Aka, Lisu, Chang, Chinbon, Ao and probably other less accurately recorded languages have what appears to be the basic arrangement, viz. oB, oSi, and ySb (three primary

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SA terms). The Barish languages in general employ the root *nau
601 ySb in the meaning "ySi" and have developed a new term for yB
193 (perhaps connected with the Kachin term for B,ws), while
197 Meithei reverses this process in employing *nau for "yB" and
ST the Kukish root *dzar·Si(ms) for ySi. Simple terms for either
601 B or Si are almost entirely lacking in Tibeto-Burman. Abor-
193 Miri has terms for B and Si based on a root *buir (cf. a-buir
197 "friend"), while in Dafla the cognate form *bör is used as the root for ySb, but note that Abor-Miri also possesses especial terms for oSb and ySb. Mikir kor Sb, like Abor-Miri buir, also has the more general meaning "friend".

Though the principle of age distinctions can be established as a basic feature of Tibeto-Burman kinship terminology, the status of sex-of-speaker distinctions is not so readily settled. We are handicapped here by the fact that most of our sources can not be depended upon in showing non-European distinctions of this type, and that negative evidence is therefore of little value. Distinct terms for Si(ms) and B(ws) are found in Tibetan, Kachin, Lushei and Lakher (and probably other Kuki languages), and Angami. Lushei and Lakher also have a distinct term (of periphrastic origin) for Si(ws). In Burmese and Nyi the distinction is applied only to ySb, viz. Burmese yB(ms), yB(ws), ySi(ws), ySi(ms), Nyi ySb(ss), yB(ws), ySi(ms), and Maru, in the same linguistic group, has a distinct term for yB(ws). Mikir distinguishes between oSi(ms) and oSi(ws), and has a distinct term for B(ws). Chinbok and Yindu, in the Southern

SA Kuki group, have a full set of eight Sb terms, showing complete
601 distinctions both for age and for sex-of-speaker. The Chinbok
193 system can be reduced to five primary terms, viz. pai oSi(ws),
197 pwe oB(ms), nau ySb(ss), be Si(ms), and beng B(ws), i.e. the
ST Tibetan-Kachin arrangement. Sex of speaker appears not to be
601 distinguished in Kanauri, Abor-Miri, Dafla, Barish, Meithei,
193 and some other languages; but our sources, as mentioned above,
197 are not of the most dependable sort. In view of the weight
of evidence above, from such key languages as Tibetan, Kachin, Burmese, Mikir, and Lushei, the writer is inclined to regard the sex-of-speaker distinction as an archaic Tibeto-Burman feature.

Despite the fact that no single gCh root can with certainty be reconstructed for Tibeto-Burman, one can surely regard the presence of a primary gCh term as a basic feature for this linguistic family. Aside from the tendency to equate gCh with N or C (vide infra), it can be stated that most Tibeto-Burman languages have a distinct, usually primary, term for gCh, e.g. Kachin šu, Burmese mre^3, Byangsi k'we, Newari c'ay, Lepcha a-son, Chang ši, Garo and Mikir su, Meithei i-su. If a single gCh root must be predicated, TB *su must be regarded as the most likely selection. Equations of gCh other than with N are exceptional, but note Sema a-nu gCh = Ch(< TB *nau ySb).

The above discussion is resumed in the following diagram:

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Tibeto-Burman Basic Pattern

gM (*p'i)		gF (*p'u)
M (*ma)		F (*p'a)
oSi(ws)		oB(ms)
	ySb (*nau)	
Si(ms)		B(ws)
	Ch (*za)	
	gCh	

It would be a rather hazardous undertaking to attempt any general explanation of the pattern outlined above in terms of sociological factors. A broad theory of this type must be based on a comprehensive comparative survey of Tibeto-Burman with a number of other groups, and as such lies outside the scope of the present study. Many of the variations from this pattern are undoubtedly significant, but they involve those elusive culturo-linguistic intangibles which do not lend themselves to arm-chair analysis. It is only in the collateral and affinal nomenclatures that obvious cultural correlations are available, and it is these that the writer proposes to consider in some detail.

The distinction between cross (FSi and MB) and parallel (FB and MSi) PSb terms is almost universal in Tibeto-Burman. No instances of an equation of FB with MB have been encountered, but FSi and MSi are equated in Bahing, Lepcha, and Chinbon, if we can trust our sources. Note that Lepcha also equates xC with pC, and that cross-cousin marriage is forbidden in this tribe.

SA The parallel FB and MSi terms are usually either equated
601 with the F and M terms (as in Chang, Lushei, Angami, Sema) or
193 are based on these terms, with the addition of elements meaning
197 "big" and "little" or the like. In other words, age distinc-
ST tions are made in the parallel PSb terms precisely as in the
601 Sb terms, though with categorical rather than primary elements.
193 By way of contrast, the cross PSb terms seldom show these age
197 distinctions, but note Burmese u^{3}-ri^{3} MoB (cf. a-ri^{3} FSi), u^{3}-mang^{3} MyB, Chinbok pu-šrö MoB (= gF), pu-ko MyB (these distinctions are typical of Southern Kuki in general). Some of the more characteristic examples of age distinctions in FB terms are listed below:

Language	FoB	FyB
Balti	a-ta ts'ar-ma	a-ta tsun-tse
Lepcha	a-bo-tim	a-bo-cum
Kachin	wa-di	wa-doi
Burmese	p'ă-kri^{3}	p'ă-t'we^{3}
Nyi	a-ba-giä	a-ba-χə
Haka	pa-u	pa-nau
Siyin	pa-lien	pa-no
Chinbon	pa k-dŏm	pa k-cwi
Tangkhul	a-va k'ă-răr	a-va ka-tui
Lhota	o-po-ra-mo	o-po-ro

One occasionally encounters what seem to be primary terms for FB or MSi, but most of these can be explained on the basis of ellipsis, e.g. Maru t'ong MySi but mye-t'ang MySi,

SA p'a-t'ang FyB in the closely related Lashi language; Bodo
601 a-yong FoB and a-doi FyB, but ma-gyung MoSi and ma-doi MySi;
193 Nzong Rengma a-nyo FyB (nyo Ch), and perhaps Changki (Ao)
197 a-sa FyB < *za Ch. Kanauri has a curious diminutive forma-
ST tion, viz. a-mats MSi < a-ma, and a-pats FB < a-pa. Tibetan
601 and Nung, however, appear to have four true PSb terms. The
193 Nung terms a-tsim MSi and a-wang FB have been compared with
197 Tsangla a-zim MSi and Garo a-wang FyB, respectively. The
Tibetan term sru MSi seems to have been derived from a root with the generalized meaning "mother's relatives", or "member of mother's clan, first ascending generation". Tibetan k'u FB, it can now be stated, has been developed from the TB root *k'u MB, and the Himalayish and Lepcha employment of this term in its Tibetan setting must be credited to Tibetan influence, which is conspicuous in both of these areas. Tibetan skud < *k'u Fl,Bl is to be explained in terms of xC marriage and the equation of WB with WF, as elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman. Tibetan ˀa-ne FSi,MBW further fits into this picture. In Himalayish, Kanauri ru Fl < *sru MSb, and c'ad Sl < *ts'a SiS(ms) suggest a like reconstruction. We have some material on xC marriage in the Tibetan area, but the term skud itself is, for the writer, the most significant single piece of evidence. Those who minimize the value of linguistic "fossils" in general might well take note of this term.

The semantic shift FB < MB in the Tibetan term k'u still requires explanation. Elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman the term has

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been demoted to affinal rank or dropped altogether, but nowhere else has it been applied to FB. Now there is but one marital feature in which the Tibetan area (including the Kanauri group of Himalayish) significantly differs from the remaining Tibeto-Burman area, viz. polyandry. Fraternal polyandry of Tibetan type is practised by the Kanauri, almost certainly through Tibetan influence, since this custom is explicitly stated to be absent among the Almora peoples (Byangsi, Chaudangsi, Johar). Among the Lepcha polyandry is an abnormal trait and can unhesitatingly be assigned a Tibetan origin. Among other Tibeto-Burman group for which we have any record, polyandry either is said to be lacking or is simply not mentioned. Since Tibetan polyandry is of fraternal type, the importance of FB can readily be understood. It would seem that the MB term, which is unstable in most TB groups, was first replaced by the honorific term ˀa-žang and later applied to FB. The collective term skud-po Fl,Bl, having already been semantically specialized in an affinal sense, was naturally retained.

Primary cross PSb terms are basic TB features, and are represented by the roots *ni FSi and *k'u MB. The first of these two terms, however, is much more stable than the second, and significantly so (if statistically treated). Thus, Tibetan has transferred the MB term to FB and used an honorific for MB; Burmish-Loloish has retained the MB term only as an honorific applied to oB (in Burmese) or as an affinal term

SA (Ahi, Moso) and has developed new terms for MB (Burmese u^3,
601 Lolo *ru); the Kuki languages proper have dropped the MB term
193 altogether and equated MB with gF; in the Naga group the MB
197 term has been preserved in its original setting only in Ao,
ST while in Rengma and Sema it has been retained only in the
601 affinal nomenclature. All of these groups, however, have the
193 root *ni FSi in its original setting. Burmese (but not
197 Burmish-Loloish) has replaced both the FSi and MB terms and dropped the former altogether, while Kachin has retained both terms only in its affinal nomenclature. The relatively greater stability of the FSi term is also evident in the borrowings made by various TB groups (infra).

This "differential variability" in the FSi and MB terms must be viewed in connection with the affinal application of these terms and the whole problem of cross-cousin marriage. Under bilateral xC marriage MB becomes Fl, and FSi becomes Ml, and it is not unlikely that honorific terms should become associated with these socially "pivotal" relationships. The fact that the MB=Fl term is more susceptible to this process than is the FSi=Ml term merely reflects the general patrilineal bias of Tibeto-Burman societies. The equation of MB with gP, which plays so prominent a role in Kukish, represents one aspect of this whole development, but teknonymy may also be a factor here ("Fl" designated as "gF of my son"). Teknonymy is hardly typical of Tibeto-Burman yet does occasionally occur. Lepcha, for example, employs a-bo F for Fl

5A where the couple are childless, but t'i-kung gF after the
601 birth of a child, and the descriptive term a-fyăt Fl has been
193 derived from an original *sput, which in turn represents a
197 morphological development from the TB root *p'u gF. Vayu
ST ca-k'i Fl appears to be a combination of co < *ca Ch and
601 ki-ki gF. Lahu, in the Southern Lolo group, has a-p'u gF = Fl,
193 a-p'i gM = Ml, and Ahi, in the Northern Lolo group, has
197✓ zu-p'o WF, also "paternal ancestor". The Chang Sbl terms are of teknonymous origin, e.g. hau-ko Bl(ms) = "his WB", but the Chang Pl terms are simply Fl = MB and Ml = FSi. Chinbon equates WF with gF, and WM with gM (rather than with MB and MBW, as in most Kuki languages), but retains the Kuki pattern in the HM and HF terms (HF = FSi, and especial term for HF), i.e. the teknonymous (or honorific) terms are employed only by the husband. The Mirish languages (Abor, Miri, Dafla) afford the best illustration of teknonymy. In Miri the terms a-bu and a-nĕ are used for F and M, respectively, but in the closely related Abor language these terms are applied to gF and gM, though ta-ta (Miri ta-to gF) is retained as the vocative term for gF. In this instance the child has taken over his parents' terms ("reverse teknonymy") rather than the parent his childrens' terms. Abor also uses the vocative gF term (ta-ta) for Fl, while Miri equates Fl either with gF or with MB, and Ml either with gM or with FSi (the equations with MB and FSi are probably only descriptive, though this is not stated in our sources). Dafla equates Ml with gM, probably also Fl with gF.

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Under a system of bilateral xC marriage we should expect to find both WF and HF equated with MB, and both WM and HM equated with FSi. This condition is fulfilled in Byangsi and Abor-Miri, where this type of marriage is in vogue. The terminological equation also appears, however, in Nung, Chang, Sema, Nzong Rengma, and Lhota, for all of which preferential MBD marriage is indicated, and in Tangkhul and Angami, for which xC marriage cannot be established.

A system of unilateral xC marriage with MBD should lead to the equation of WF with MB, HM with FSi, and separate terms for HF and WM, as well as distinctions between FSiH and MB, MBW and FSi. Kachin fulfills all these conditions admirably, with unilateral xC marriage coupled with the terminological equations indicated above. The same can be said for the Kuki pattern, as illustrated in Lakher, Thado, Chawte, Tarau, as well as in Mru and Khami, viz. WF= MB, WM= MBW, HM= FSi, HF= FSiH. Unilateral MBD marriage is found among the Thado, Chiru, Anal, Aimol, Purum, and probably the Anal, Sho, and Khami. In Thado this nomenclature is employed only where MBD marriage has actually occurred, P terms being employed under other conditions.

Ntenyi and Anyo Rengma have an intermediate type, with HM=FSi but WF= MB and a distinct term for HF, but in both languages the MB term is sometimes applied to HF as well as to WF. The closely related Nzong Rengma has a single term for Fl (WF,HF= MB), but retains a distinct term for FSiH. Sema has the same scheme as Nzong Rengma. The Sema term for FSiH,

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furthermore, is cognate with the Ntenyi and Anyo Rengma term for HF, and in Ao the same term appears in its original setting (MB). This Naga material thus shows various stages of the transformation of the affinal terminology through the development of unilateral xC marriage. The discrepancies found in Nung, Chang, and Lhota are perhaps more apparent than real, and in the case of Nung and Lhota, at any rate, our sources may be faulty. Even in these affinal features, however, we must expect to find a certain amount of disassociation, for we must allow for linguistic "lag", i.e. the simple scheme of equating Fl with MB and Ml with FSi tends to be perpetuated even where the development of a unilateral "skew" has rendered it theoretically illogical. This general point has been raised many times before, but will bear repetition in view of the fact that a number of modern theoreticians seem to object to this sort of reasoning.

It is fairly evident that the abandonment of xC marriage as an instutionalized norm has in several different groups resulted in the disappearance of categorical equations. In Tibetan and Kanauri we have only the "fossilized" terms skud-po and ru, respectively, which require comparative studies for a full appraisal of their significance. In Lahul, however, where we have a hint of xC marriage, the equations Fl= MB and Ml= FSi are in evidence. In Burmese itself categorical equations are lacking, and here also we have no evidence of xC marriage, but the situation is reversed in Arakanese (Chaungtha).

SA 601 193 197 ST 601 193 197

Maru and Lashi, which are of Burmese stock, equate Ml with FSi, WF with MB, and have a distinct term for FSiH,HF (as in Nsong and Anyo Rengma). Kachin influence perhaps plays a role here, yet the Kachin distinguish between WM and HM, as is consistent with their unilateral xC marriage practice. Nyi, in the Northern Lolo group, has derived its terms for WF and WM from the terms for MB and FSi, respectively, plus the element mo "old", acting here as an honorific, while the Burmish-Loloish affinal root *yok is employed in the terms for HM and HF. Ahi seems to reverse this scheme, to judge from our faulty data on this language. For Lisu we have only what appear to be the vocative terms for Fl and Ml (ma-ma < a-ma M, ba-ba < a-ba F), and hence are not in a position to interpret this Lolo material. The use of respectful designations may be a complicating factor here; cf. Lushei pu-zon WF, pi-zon WM, conforming to the Kuki pattern (from pu MB and pi MBW plus an added element -zon), but pa HF (= F) and nu HM (= M), i.e. a woman equates her husband's relatives with her own blood kin.

Categorical equations in the Pl terms are present elsewhere, but our sources are often incomplete. Garo equates Ml with FSi,MBW, but has a distinct term for Fl (a-bu-di, perhaps "little gF"). Mikir equates WF with MB, WM with FSi (with or without the addition of an honorific suffix), and has a distinct term for HF. If we assume that HM (not given in our sources) is also equated with FSi, this system can be compared with that found in Rengma and Maru. Both Garo and Mikir have

SA preferential MBD marriage. Meithei equates Ml with FSi, and
601 has i-ku Fl < TB *k'u MB (the MB term is not known for sure,
193 but may be the Indic loan-word māmā); the Meithei are not
197 known to practice xC marriage.

ST The rest of the collateral terminology (C and N terms)
601 is even more poorly known than the PSb terminology, and
193 presents even more serious problems. In view of the presence
197 of basic TB roots for MB (*k'u) and FSi (*ni) one might expect to find one or more roots for xC, but such is hardly the case. The extension of Sb terms to include pC is practically universal and need not be examined in detail. The lack of especial xC terms is probably associated with the lack of xC marriage, but there are too many lacunae in our data to permit of any final judgment here. Tibetan apparently fails to distinguish between pC and xC, but Burmese perhaps has a distinct xC term (sa-mi^3-mrok-sa^3, lit. "D's spouse"!). By way of contrast, Chaungtha, one of the Arakanese dialects, has yauk-pa Bl,xC corresponding to Burmese yok-p'aʼ Bl(ms), in conformity with its equation of Fl with MB and Ml with FSi, i.e. an affinal term has "invaded" the consanguineal nomenclature.

Terms for xCe and xCi in conjunction with xC marriage are found in Byangsi-Chaudangsi, Abor-Miri, Lisu, and Chang, while Dafla has this terminological pattern but without data on xC marriage. Chang appears to have preferential MBD marriage, but the bilateral type is found among the others.

SA Byangsi-Chaudangsi makes a sex-of-speaker distinction, viz.
601 xCi(ms), xCe(ws), xC(ss), and Abor-Miri makes an age dis-
193 tinction. None of the terms involved is associated with a
197 PSb term or a N term. The Abor-Miri terms show "invasion"
ST from the affinal terminology, as in Chaungtha, e.g. mag-bo
601 xCe(os)= oBl,Sl, from TB *mak Sl. Note that in Byangsi-
193 Chaudangsi, Abor-Miri, and Chang this xC pattern is associated
197 with the simple Pl= PSb categorical equations (for Lisu we
lack full information on the Pl terms).

Cross-cousin terminologies of Omaha type are found in two primary foci, viz. Kachin and Kukish. The correlation between the Omaha nomenclature and patrilineal descent, one of the few widely accepted anthropological generalizations, obtains both among the Kachin and the various Kuki and Naga tribes. Of the Tibeto-Burman peoples only the Garo and Rabha, in the Barish group, are known to have matrilineal descent, and unfortunately we know nothing of the cousin terminology in use among these tribes. There is a hint of the Crow type of terminology in Bodo, also in the Barish group, but we cannot be sure that the Bodo reckon descent in the matrilineal line. Bodo (nang-)a-doi "(thy) oBCh", (a-)doi FyB show reciprocity, as has already been pointed out, but Bodo nam-ba-noi "(thy) SiS", (nang-)a-noi "(thy) SiD", and a-noi FSi cannot be explained on this basis and suggest rather the Crow pattern. It is greatly to be regretted that our Garo sources fail us at this critical point.

SA The Kachin system, which is quite distinct from that found
601 in Kukish, merits especial examination. The key terms are as
193 follows:

197 **Kachin Omaha Pattern**

ST (Consanguineal)

601	moi	FSi	ts'a	MB,MBS(ws)
193	ning	xCi(ws)	k'au	xCe(ms)
197	k'ri	FSiD(ms),SiCh(ms)		
	rat	MBD(oms)		
	nam	MBD(yms),BCh(ws)		

(Affinal)

ni	WM,MBW,WBW	ku	HF,FSiH,HoB,oSiH(ws)
moi	HM	ts'a	WF,BWB(ws)
ning	HSi,BW(ws)	k'au	WB,SiH(ms)
nam	Dl,WySi,yBW(ms),WBCh	k'ri	Si,HSiCh,FSiHSi
rat	WoSi,ySiH(ws),oBW(ms),HyB		

The main features of this system have already been discussed in pt. 7. It will be observed that the lineal equations characteristic of the Omaha pattern appear only in the terms for non-marriageable cross-cousins under the Kachin unilateral xC marriage arrangement, i.e. a man equates his (non-marriageable) FSiD with his SiCh, while a woman equates her (non-marriageable) MBS with her MB. The terms applied by a woman to her (marriageable) FSiS are not known, but a man equates his (marriageable) MBD with his WSi. Distinct terms are used by speakers of each sex for xC(ss).

SA On the basis of comparative material, the terms nam and
601 k'ri must be regarded as originally affinal (Dl and Sl,
193 respectively). Both terms have "invaded" the consanguineal
197 nomenclature via the categorical equations Dl= BD(ws) and
ST Sl=SiS(ms), as are consistent with the practice of MBD
601 marriage. Note that both terms have become neuter in the
193 course of this transformation. We must next enquire of the
197 fate of the original xN terms thus displaced. The terms
moi FSi and ts'a MB can be called upon at this point. We
lack comparative material on moi, but Tibetan has ts'a SiS(ms)
corresponding to the Kachin term, and we can therefore interpret Kachin ts'a MB as a product of reciprocal usage. We have conclusive support for this view in the term k'ri HSiCh,FSiHSi, which at first puzzled the writer. Under the Kachin tripartite organization, as described by Gilhodes, FSiHSi becomes MBW, and MBW ∼ HSiCh are reciprocal terms. Since moi FSi closely parallels ts'a MB, we are justified in interpreting this term analogically as a reciprocal development from BD(ws).

To continue our analysis, moi and ts'a have displaced the original cross PSb terms ni and ku, which are retained in the affinal nomenclature. An original system of bilateral xC marriage must be postulated to account for ni WM,MBW < FSi, and ku HF,FSiH < MB. The categorical equations shown by ning xCi(ws)= Sil(ws) and k'au xCe(ms)=Bl(ms) also call for this type of marriage.

To complete our reconstruction, the terms ning, k'au, and rat must be regarded as originally consanguineal rather

SA than affinal. We have comparative material only for ning,
601 which is represented by Chang (Konyak) nyǎng < *ning xC,
193 Mikir neng < *ning BW(ws). We must further reconstruct rat
197 as the term for xC(ds), i.e. the marriageable xC under the
ST original bilateral xC marriage arrangement. This yields the
601 theoretical categorical equations xCi(ms)=SiI(ms) and xCe(ws)=
193 BI(ws). Under the conventional type of levirate, which is
197 found among the Kachin, a distinction must be made between the (marriageable) oBW and the (non-marriageable) yBW. In Kachin this distinction is made, in the case of a man, by equating yBW with DI (nam) and in retaining the term rat for oBW, and, in the case of a woman, by equating HoB with HF (ku) and in retaining the term rat for HyB. Since a man marries his MBD, the distinction between rat MBD(oms) and nam MBD(yms) is the natural result of that described above. It is a fair inference that the missing terms for FSiS(ws) are ku FSiS(ows) and rat FSiS(yws). Note that the equation of MBD(yms) with BCh(ws) is a by-product, so to speak, and is not to be taken as a 'Crow' feature.

We are now in a position to evaluate the Omaha features of the Kachin system. It has been demonstrated that the Kachin have developed a unilateral xC marriage system from an original bilateral arrangement, and that this shift has produced a profound transformation in the kinship terminology. The equating of MBS(ws) with MB, and of FSiD(ms) with SiCh(ms) serves to distinguish the non-marriageable from the marriageable

SA cross-cousins. These equations closely parallel those already
601 noted in the Sbl terminology, and appear to form part of the
193 same pattern. If this inference be correct, we must regard
197 the institution of the levirate as a contributing factor here.

ST The Kachin terminology under the original bilateral xC
601 marriage system can be reconstructed as follows:
193
197

Reconstructed Kachin System

(Consanguineal)

ni FSi		ku MB
ning xCi(ws)		k'au xCe(ms)
	rat xC(ds)	
moi BD(ws)		ts'a SiS(ms)

(Affinal)

ni MBW,Ml		ku FSiH,Fl
ning Sil(ss)		k'au Bl(ss)
	rat Sbl(ds)	
nam Dl		k'ri Sl

Maru and Lashi, which are of Burmese stock, show Omaha features of Kachin type, e.g. Lashi so-ok FSiD(ms),SiCh(ms) and zo-auk Sl (a variant of so-ok), directly comparable with the Kachin term k'ri. Our material here is too uncertain to justify any further investigation of this point, and we have no data on the Maru and Lashi marriage practices. Both tribes are closely identified with the Kachin, and have even incorporated Kachin loan-words into their kinship nomenclatures, so that direct Kachin influence must be reckoned with in this

SA matter. To judge from what little we know of the collateral
601 terms of other Burmish-Loloish languages, Omaha features are
193 not present. There is some evidence suggesting that the root
197 *tu is applied both to N and C in Lisu and in Ulu (Northern
ST Lolo), but the Lisu material is inconsistent and the Ulu
601 material is not precise
193
197

The Omaha nomenclatures found among the Kukish tribes are quite distinct in type from the Kachin nomenclature. The Kuki tribes proper, including Southern Kuki and Tangkhul, employ the following basic scheme (in many varieties):

Kuki Omaha Pattern

(Consanguineal)

pi	gM, MBD	pu	gF, MB, MBS
ni	FSi		
tu	FSiCh, SiCh(ms), gCh		

(Affinal)

pi	MBW, Wi, WSi	pu	WF, WB
ni	HM	-rang	FSiH, HF
mou	Di, BW(ws)	mak	Si, SiH(ws)

Lushei has an especial term for BCh(ws), viz. va' (apparently connected with the root *wa H), and Yindu has an especial term for BD(ws), viz. (ka-)li, which has been compared with the root *ma-li gCh (Burmese, Nung), xH (Mikir). In Siyin and Chawte, however, BCh(ws) is equated with Ch. The analyzing development in Laiyo has entirely obliterated all traces of the Omaha system, yet the term tu FSiCh is

SA retained. Haka has both (k-)tu FSiCh and the analytical term
601 (k-)ni fa as an alternative. Lakher applies Sb terms (in
193 address) to FSiCh and occasionally to MBCh, and both Thado
197 and Aimol sometimes apply the oSb term to FSiCh(os). Chinbok
ST employs an analytical term for MBS, but equates MBD with MySi.
601 Thado resembles Chinbok in equating MBD with MSi, but elsewhere
193 the regular equation is with MBW = gM. Chinbok is further
197 aberrant in equating FSiS with SiS(ms) but having a distinct term for gS. Yindu equates DS with SiS,FSiS, but employs an analytical term for SS. Yindu has distinct terms for MBCh, and Kyaw has distinct terms both for MBCh and FSiCh(i.e. Omaha features are lacking). Aimol, if we can trust our sources, has reversed the Kuki pattern, with (ka-)pu FSiS and (ka-)tu-pa MBS. Chinbon has MoBS = MyB, MyBS = WB, reflecting the stress placed on age distinctions in Southern Kuki. Our Chawte material, which is not reliable, indicates a distinction between FSiS(ws) and FSiD(ms), and the equation of SiCh(mws) with gCh. The affinal term mak Sl is commonly replaced by the consanguineal term tu SiS(ms), as in Haka, Chawte, and Sho, and the reverse process whereby an affinal term "invades" the consanguineal nomenclature (as in Kachin) is illustrated by Kyaw sa-măk SiCh(ms) = Sl, and Ayaing Khami mok-sa FSiCh,SiCh(ms) = Sl, both from the root *mak Sl. The latter language has retained the root *tu, however, in the term (ka-)tu FSiCh(ws),gS.

It is evident from the above citations that this Omaha pattern is extremely susceptible to variation at all points.

SA Nothing approaching the specific Kachin variety has been
601 encountered, however, and the two systems seem to have little
193 in common. In the Kuki system the equations FSiCh = SiCh(ms)
197 and MBS = MB obtain regardless of the sex or speaker, there are
ST additional equations of MB with gF and SiCh(ms) with gCh,
601 ~~and~~ ni FSi is retained as a consanguineal term. In addition,
193 distinct terms for xC(ss) and Sbl are lacking. The historical
197 developments of the two systems have been quite different, if
we are permitted to draw inferences from comparative data. The terms pi and pu are the original gP terms (TB *p'i gM, *p'u gF), and the term -rang (prefixed) can be regarded as the original term for MB, cognate with Tibetan ʔa-žang < *zrang MB (cf. Kachin ku HF,FSiH = MB). The term tu occasions some difficulty, since we have only the Burmish-Loloish root *tu and the Nung term pa-du, both applied to N (xN in Burmese) for comparison. In view of the parallelism in the equations MB = gF and xN = gCh, however, we must fix the original meaning of tu as "gCh" rather than "xN". The clue to these equations seems to be teknonymy in conjunction with xC marriage, i.e. we must suppose that a man applied the teknonymous terms pu gF and pi gM to his wife's parents, whereas a woman applied the consanguineal terms ni FSi and -rang MB. With the development of unilateral marriage with MBD, a feature found in the Kuki area as well as in Kachin, the two sets of Pl terms were fully differentiated in function, and the term pu Fl = gF replaced the consanguineal term -rang MB, with pi coming into

SA use for MBW. The equation of SiCh(ms) with gCh was the natural
601 result of the above development. Since the term ni FSi was
193 retained in its original setting, no comparable term was
197 developed for the reciprocal relationship BCh(ws). The evidence
ST for the use of teknonymous terms in Tibeto-Burman in general
601 has been resumed above and need not be discussed at this point.
193 Within the Kuki group, note Chinbon (ka-)mo-pauk WH=gF and
197 (ka-)mu-bok MoB (probably a variant of the foregoing), (ka-)mo WM=gM and (ka-)mok MoBW (probably a variant of the foregoing), but (ka-)ze HF (analysis uncertain), (ka-)si HM=FSi. Chinbon thus makes use of teknonymous terms precisely as suggested above for the Kuki group in general.

We are still faced with the problem of explaining the equations MBS=MB, MBD=MBW (or MSi), and FSiCh=SiCh(ms). Here again we must take into account the affinal setting of these terms under a system of unilateral xC marriage with MBD. The fundamental equation seems to have been that between WF and WB (pu) rather than between MB and MBS, i.e. these kin were identified because of the similarity of their roles as wife's father and brother rather than as mother's brother and mother's brother's son. In other terms, the especial position of MB and MBS among the Kuki groups seems in large measure to have arisen through xC marriage. The equation of FSiCh with SiCh(ms) reflects the equation of MBS with MB, just as the equation of SiCh(ms) with gCh reflects the equation of MB with gF.

It is possible to conceive of the Kuki development without recourse to teknonymy simply by assuming that pu gF was

SA applied to MB and MBS in an honorific sense, with tu gCh
601 SiCh(ms)=FSiCh as a complementary equation. In any event,
193 the equation in the MB line must be regarded as the primary
197 one, and the equation in the FSi line as complementary. The
ST same situation was found to obtain among the Kachin (supra).
601 The Naga languages, which make up the northern division
193 of the Kukish group, also reveal Omaha features, which are of
197 Kuki rather than Kachin type. MBD is equated with MSi or MySi rather than with gM=MBW. In Ao (all three dialects) the terms for gF (o-pu) and gCh (sam-cir) are distinct, i.e. there is no teknonymy, the TB root *k'u is retained in the consanguineal nomenclature (o-k'u MB,MBS) while MBD is equated with MySi, and the affinal terms for Sl (a-nok) and Dl (a-mu) are applied to FSiS,SiS(ms) and FSiD,SiD(ms), respectively, precisely as in Ayaing Khami. Sema has a distinct term for gP (neuter) and equates gCh with Ch, but has developed a new root for MB,MBS (a-ngu) and has retained the root *k'u only in the affinal meaning "FSiH" (a-ci). Thus both Ao and Sema show full Omaha features without distinction of sex of speaker (as in Kuki) but also without teknonymy (as in Kachin). The Angami, Rengma, and Lhota systems, however, all show teknonymous features. Rengma (all three dialects) equates MB,MBS(os) with gF (ggF in Nzong), and FSiCh,SiCh(ms) with gCh. Lhota shows a partial equation of MB,MBS with gF (o-mo and o-mo-tsü) and at least similar terms for FSiS,SiS(ms) and gS (o-hro and o-hre). Angami equates FSiS,ySiS(ms) with gS, but distinguishes between

SA gF and MB, yet the term for the latter (mi) is connected with
601 the Rengma term for gF, MB (a-mi ~ a-mui) and the Lhota term
193 for MB (o-mo) and gF (o-mo-tsü). We can thus interpret Angami
197 mi MB as the original term for gF, MB and in this way explain
ST the lack of symmetry in the Angami nomenclature as it now
601 stands (a man calls his sister's child "gCh", but a child
193 calls his mother's brother "uncle"). Angami lacks the Omaha
197 traits on one side, since MBCh is addressed or described by name, or analytically if the need arises. The Rengma equations on the MB side appear only in the vocative nomenclature, and only when the cousin (MBS or MBD) addressed is older than speaker.

As noted in pt. 16, Majumder attempted to explain some of the features of the Sema nomenclature in terms of marriage with F's widow, after the fashion instituted by Rivers. Almost no instances of marriages of this type have been encountered in the Tibeto-Burman area, however, and the writer fails to see how Rivers' theories are of any relevancy in the present situation. The most curious form of marriage noted is the Lisu marriage with FSi cited by Fraser, and this is not reflected in the Lisu nomenclature. Omaha features among the Omaha and Miwok are perhaps based on WBD marriage, but for the American evidence there is no unanimity of opinion, and at least three recent writers on the subject (White, Gifford, Tax) have attacked this as a general explanation. Of this trio White alone suggests a general explanation, viz. that the Omaha type

SA is developed from the Dakota-Iroquois type (pC = Sb, xC distinct
601 term) under the influence of a mature and vigorous patrilineal
193 clan system. Gifford has successfully attacked this view on
197 the basis of the American material, and the same general
ST strictures are applicable in the Tibeto-Burman field, where
601 no correlation can be established between strong patrilineal
193 clans and the Omaha type of terminology.
197

The Kuki equation of xN with gCh is also encountered in Miri (ŭ < o-i "child below") and Tibetan (ts'a). Miri has retained the TB root *k'u MB (a-kŭ), but does apply teknonymous terms to Fl and Ml (= MB and FSi under the Miri bilateral xC marriage system). In Tibetan, however, teknonymy has been found only in the dialect of Bathang (eastern Tibet) as recorded by Desgodins, who cites rmo-rmo Ml = MM (hence a man's term for his WM). Abor shows reverse teknonymy in the shifts a-bu gF < F and a-nă gM < M, reflected in the equation o Ch = N = gCh (Abor, like Miri, applies teknonymous terms to Fl and Ml).

SA We are perhaps not justified in concluding that all
601 equations of xN with gCh are based on teknonymy involving the
ST affinal nomenclature (gF > Fl = MB), but no better general
601 explanation can be suggested. The general thesis outlined above conforms to the basic Tibeto-Burman sociological pattern of cross-cousin marriage, and thus enjoys an initial advantage over any alternative theories of a more _ad hoc_ nature.

Reciprocal terminology has already been mentioned in connection with Kachin ts'a MB < SiCh(ms), k'ri HSiCh, FSiHSi,

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and Bodo a-doi FyB, nang-a-doi oBCh. This phenomenon is not typical of Tibeto-Burman but can be traced in a few languages. Newari ni-ni FSi, i-ni Dl (< BD,ws) is comparable with Kachin ts'a. The following instances of grandparental reciprocity have been noted: Lepcha a-zo ggF ∾ a-zon gCh (with -n suffix); Bodo a-bau gF,gCh, Moran a-lu gF,gCh (as cited by Gurdon); Lisu a-lü ggF, lü-pa gS (and perhaps a-za gM, za S), which are not strictly reciprocal. Note also Lushei t'laʔ "a descendant, posterity", t'laʔ-tu "an ancestor, progenitor" (apparently formed with the root *tu gCh), Siyin tu-k'an ta-k'an "descendant; ancestor", based on tu < *tu gCh and ta < *za Ch. Lisu also has the combined terms pa-la "F and Ch", ma-la "M and Ch", and pi-li "gF and gCh", all used in a collective sense. Kanauri spats gCh seems to have been derived from a-pa F, with the diminutive suffix -ts as in a-pats FB and the s- prefix as in Tib. p'a-sped "F and Ch" (collective).

To resume the foregoing discussion, we have reconstructed for the Tibeto-Burman peoples a sociological pattern of bilateral xC marriage and a corresponding linguistic pattern with primary terms for MB and FSi, for Sl, and perhaps for Dl, but with the affinal nomenclature in general based on categorical equations. In the Lowie system this pattern would be designated "bifurcate merging". The breakdown of the xC marriage pattern is shown to have directly influenced the affinal nomenclature but to have exerted little effect on the consanguineal nomenclature. The development of unilateral xC

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marriage with MBD in Kachin and the Kuki and Naga tribes is associated with the presence of two sets of Pl terms and of Omaha features in the collateral terminology. This association naturally has no statistical significance, yet fits very well into the general picture.

The practice of unilateral xC marriage with MBD is to be interpreted in terms of asymmetric reckoning of descent, as has been brilliantly pointed out by B. Z. Seligman with especial reference to River's Pentecost material. The Pentecost society has matri-moieties with three patri-sections in each, and the Pentecost terminology shows Crow features, viz. ratahina M,MSi,FSi,FSiD, and nituma MBCh,Ch. The Pentecost pattern is thus the reverse of the Kachin-Kuki-Naga.

The Tibeto-Burman evidence is surprising, perhaps, in failing to suggest a basic pattern of dual organization. Rivers regarded xC marriage as the result of dual organization, and Radcliffe-Brown has expressed the belief that the "Dravidian-Australian" kinship system (xC marriage) is in some way correlated with dual organization. The latter point of view is perhaps that shared by the majority of anthropologists. In the Tibeto-Burman area, however, dual organization has been recorded only for some of the Old Kuki groups and for Garo and Rabha, with additional evidence from the Naga group. Bose (1934) has collected much material bearing on this point, but largely from inadequate sources and in wholly uncritical fashion. In a later article (1937) the same writer places

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emphasis rather on the tri-clan arrangement as found among at least some sections of the Garo, and suggests that an originally matrilineal people had been submerged in a wave of patrilineal peoples coming from the north, and that the restriction against a woman's marrying into her mother's clan is a reflection of this matrilineal substratum. Another Indian ethnologist, Das (1935), postulates a mixture of a patrilineal people with dual organization and a matrilineal people. The Khasi are typically matrilineal, and hence one can easily envisage an archaic Khasi-Mon matrilineal substratum in the Assam-Burma area. The Tibeto-Burman peoples, on the other hand, were and are patrilineal, though practising xC marriage. The Garo, Rabha, and probably other members of the Barish linguistic stock are matrilineal, however, apparently through direct Khasi influence. The theory of a miscegenation between patrilineal and matrilineal peoples, as advocated by Bose and Das, is therefore likely enough, and serves as well as any other as a partial explanation of the development of the asymmetric mode of reckoning descent. It does not explain, however, why the Kachin, living in the upper Irrawaddy valley, should have adopted this feature, nor, inversely, why the Mikir, in close contact with the Khasi, should not have adopted it.

In the present study no effort can be made to follow through the historical and other implications raised by the postulation of an early Tibeto-Burman-speaking population with patrilineal descent and xC marriage. It is difficult to see

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any historical connection with the "Dravidian-Australian" system suggested by Radcliffe-Brown (see also the articles by Hodson and Rivers), inasmuch as an intervening population of matrilineal Mon-Khmer-speaking peoples must also be postulated. From another point of view, the writer is unable to suggest any striking correlation between xC marriage and other cultural traits. According to the view expressed by Kroeber in a recent article (1938), this form of marriage would form part of the "secondary pattern" and would be (ultimately) referable to factors of residence or other elements of the "basic pattern". The argument seems to be that one must live somewhere, but can live without exogamic groupings, totems, and the like - that one must have kin, but not clans. It is equally true, however, that one must marry someone, and that his choice must lie either within the kin group or without, just as residence must be either patrilocal, matrilocal, or neither, with various combinations possible. This point of view seems to be implied in Seligman's (1929) discussion of incest and descent factors.

It is perhaps of some interest to point out that premarital sexual promiscuity and the institution of a bachelor's house or its equivalent are characteristic Tibeto-Burman traits. The writer has not collected data on either of these specific points, yet has been impressed by the almost universal distribution of these features. It is primarily among acculturated groups such as the Tibetans or Burmese that these traits are in abeyance. Contrast, for example, the primitive Almora

SA 601 ST 601 group with xC marriage and a type of bachelor's house with their immediate neighbors, the Tibetans, who practise polyandry rather than xC marriage (traces of the latter persist) and have nothing suggesting a bachelor's house. The same type of contrast is presented by the primitive Arakanese with xC marriage and premarital sexual freedom (Hutchinson, p. 113) and the sophisticated Burmese, who lack xC marriage and whose courtship pattern had become highly formalized even in medieval times (vide the interesting account by Kin). It is not suggested that xC marriage and premarital sexual laxity are necessarily correlated in any way, but, in the area under consideration, both appear to belong to the same general cultural stratum.

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SA [121] ST [121] The present study is of limited scope and comparative material has therefore been eliminated. The parallelism between the Kuki Omaha pattern and that found among the BaThonga and Nama Hottentot of South Africa, however, is too attractive to be omitted. The Nama Hottentot (Schapera, pp. 230 and ff.) employ the terms //náob gF,MB; //náos gM,MBW (but MB is now called omeb < Dutch oom "uncle", and MBW is now called mugis < Dutch moekie "little mother"); //núrib xCe,SiS(ms),gS; //núris xCi,SiD(ms),gD. This system can be converted into the Kuki type by limiting //núrib and //núris to FSiCh and applying //náob and //náos to MBCh. Schapera describes xC marriage of bilateral type, but notes that among

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some tribes of the Nama marriage with MBD "is said to have been far more common" (p. 244). For the replacement of the MB term by the Dutch loan-word (omeb < oom), cf. the wide-spread Tibeto-Burman borrowing of the Indic term māmā MB (infra).

The BaThonga evidence (Junod, pp. 216 and ff.) is complicated by the existence of dialectical differences. The regular MB term is malume (Zulu malume MB), applied also to MBS. The Northern BaThonga, however, have kokwana gF,MB,MBS, ntukulu SiS(ms),gS. The BaRonga clans are in a neatly transitional stage, with alternative sets of terms. Radcliffe-Brown (1924) has made an illuminating analysis of the BaThonga material, in which the significance of the terms malume ("male mother") and rarana ("female father") is pointed out (cf. also Firth's discussion of the FSi as "male father" in Tikopia). The BaThonga do not practice xC marriage, according to Junod, and the parallelism with Kuki thus breaks down at this point. Since the application of kokwana gF to MB is apparently of late origin here, the teknonymy principle is of no avail in this instance, and we must accept Radcliffe-Brown's mode of reasoning. Note that neither the Nama nor the BaThonga system is of true Omaha type.

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Loan-words appear in many of the Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies, and include terms of Indic, Chinese, and Shan origin, as well as of Tibeto-Burman origin. Indic loan-words are found in a string of languages extending from Baltistan

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and Kanawur in the northwest to the Garo Hills in the southeast, all exposed to direct Indian influence. The extent of borrowing in kinship nomenclature is in general correlated with the rate of borrowing in general, but this is not necessarily so, e.g. Magari has preserved a large proportion of its original TB vocabulary yet has retained only a single kinship term (za Ch), if we can trust our sources. The tendency to borrow terms for male kin rather than female kin has been observed in Balti, Kanauri, Newari (less well marked), Miri, and Barish. Terms for relatives older than speaker are also more likely to be borrowed than those for relatives younger than speaker. Probably both points can be explained on the basis of the honorific connotations associated with loan-words in general, which go to make up the "respectable" idiom as opposed to the vulgar. The term mama MB has been borrowed by Balti, Kanauri, Dhimal, Bodo, Garo, and perhaps Meithei, whereas the Indic FSi term has been borrowed only once (Dhimal).

The most prominent instances of borrowings made within Tibeto-Burman are those of Lepcha from Tibetan, and Atsi from Kachin. To illustrate the vagaries in the borrowing process, Atsi borrows its MB and FSi terms from Kachin but retains its native FB and MSi terms, whereas Byangsi (Almora group) borrows from Indic (Khasiya) its terms for FoB and FyB but employs a native term for MB. The borrowing of a term in a specialized sense only is exemplified by the following curious series: Kanauri mak-pa "Sl living in Fl's house" (from Tibetan); Lepcha ku-mok, id. (from Tibetan); Kachin

SA luk-k'i, id. (from Shan). All three languages have distinct
197 Sl terms applied under normal conditions. Contrast Garo
601 nok-rong "Sl living in Fl's house" (native term), cowari "Sl
ST other than above" (from Indic); note that among the Garo the
197
601 nok-rong is a formalized institution in a matrilineal society.
It would be difficult to find a more ideal illustration of the
mirroring of sociological features in linguistic phenomena.

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SECTION B

KAREN AND CHINESE

1. Introduction

ST 197 [121] K 197 [121]

Having completed a review of the Tibeto-Burman kinship terminologies, the writer now proposes to discuss in summary fashion the salient points of the Karen and Chinese nomenclatures. Karen and Tibeto-Burman together constitute the western branch of the Sino-Tibetan stock, the eastern branch of which is represented by Chinese (Sinitic) and the Sinitic element in Thai. The term "Indo-Chinese" has been employed in a somewhat broader sense to include Thai itself, and the latter family is commonly coupled with Chinese in contrast to Tibeto-Burman. This view has been developed in a masterly study by Wulff and is shared by Maspero, a pioneer in Thai linguistics. The writer himself was originally partial toward this view, but more intensive investigations of the Thai languages have led to the conviction that a wholly distinct substratum is involved here, and that the Sinitic elements constitute little more than a veneer, albeit an ancient one. A rapprochement with Indonesian has been initiated, largely on the basis of a newly discovered linguistic group in southern China, northern Tonkin, and the island of Hainan. This newly recognized group, consisting of Kelao (southern China), Laqua (northern Tonkin), and Dai or Loi (Hainan), has been named "Kadai". Kadai is notable for its retention

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of a numeral system based on Indonesian roots in connection with numerous Thai features, and serves to explain certain resemblances between Thai and Indonesian.

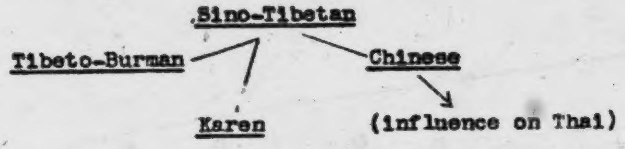
The connection between Tibeto-Burman and Chinese, long a favorite theme with philological speculators, can now be regarded as established (Simon, Shafer, Benedict). The relationship is an ancient one, however, comparable with that between Indo-European and Hittite or between Semitic and Hamitic, and generalizations covering the phonological relations of the two families can be drawn only with the utmost difficulty. Karen stands in an altogether different type of relationship with Tibeto-Burman, and these two families must be derived from a common origin (Tibeto-Karen) as opposed to Chinese (vide the discussion in pt. 2). The following set of roots illustrates the lexical affinities of Chinese with Tibeto-Burman and Karen; forms are cited for Ancient Chinese (6th century), Archaic TB (as reconstructed by the writer), and five Karen dialects.

	Chinese	TB	Taungthu	Zayein	Sgaw	Pwo	Mopgha
five	nguo (五)	*l-nga *b-nga	ngat	ngä nyä	yä	yai	zä
I	nguo (吾)	*nga	-	nga nya	ya	ya	za
fish	ngiwo (魚)	*ngya	-	-	nya	ya	-
plantain	-	*ngak	nga	-	ya	ya	za

Note Sgaw y- < ng- but ny- < ngy-, and cf. Tib. nga < *nga "I" but nya < *ngya "fish". The root for "plantain" illustrates the type of "partial equation" between Tibeto-Burman and Karen

ST 197 which is frequently encountered (in this instance the root is perhaps an old loan-word in Karen).

K 197 The relationships among Tibeto-Burman, Karen, Chinese, and Thai can conveniently be diagrammed as follows:



Sh 197 601 In view of the peculiar linguistic position occupied by Thai, the kinship terminologies of the several Thai languages have been omitted from consideration in the present study. The writer has examined the kinship terms used in Siamese, Lao, Shan, Khamti, Ahom, Black Tai, Tho, Nung, and Dioi, however, and is thus able to make a few general observations. The Thai system is remarkable for its uniformity from group to group, though it must be remembered that the Thai languages in general are fairly uniform. Age distinctions are even more prominent than in Tibeto-Burman, and appear both in the Sb and PSb terms (*bi oSb, *nong ySb; *lung FoB,MoB, *pa MoSi,FoSi). The collateral lines tend to be merged in the PSb terminology, as in Lowie's "lineal" type, yet the Sb terms are extended to include both pC and xC, e.g. Siamese nong is defined as "kindred of a younger branch, younger brother or sister, cousins, spouse, mistress" (in the standard Siamese lexicon by Pallegoix). Four gP terms are found in some Thai languages though not in all and undoubtedly must be regarded as forming part of the basic pattern, e.g.

Sh Siamese has pu FF, ya FM, ta MF, yai MM. Affinal terms are
197 formed with the aid of various honorific elements, but at
601 least two primary affinal roots exist (*k'ŏi S1 and baŭ D1).
The equation of N with gCh in the root *hlan is an outstanding Thai feature, and is reminiscent of Tibetan ts'a, Kuki tu, and the like. Categorical equations indicative of xC marriage are conspicuously absent. In general, the Thai terminology is suggestive of a bilateral kindred grouping rather than a unilateral clan or lineage grouping.

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[1] [For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, AL1 Southeast Asia AL1 -- Analyst]

2. Karen

101 197 The Karen dialects are spoken in Lower Burma and the Shan States. Our studies of Karen are still in a preliminary stage, but enough work has been done to show that this family represents an archaic offshoot from the Tibeto-Burman stock. The present position of the Karen groups, in the lower Salween valley and the Salween-Mekong divide, suggests that the Karen became detached from the main body of Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples at a relatively early date and migrated southward, probably via the Salween valley, at a period considerably antedating that of the general Burmish-Loloish expansion. At present the Karen are hemmed in on all sides by groups speaking quite distinct languages, viz. the Tibeto-Burman-speaking Burmese and Southern Lolo, the Thai-speaking Shan, and the Mon-Khmer-speaking Wa and Palaung. The Mon, also of Mon-Khmer stock, must have exerted considerable influence on the Karen at a somewhat earlier period.

193 197 Karen agrees with Chinese and Thai, and sharply differs from Tibeto-Burman, in placing the object after rather than before the verb. It is on the basis of this feature, and of this feature alone, that Karen has generally been grouped with Chinese and Thai. On the lexical side, however, Karen is basically affiliated with Tibeto-Burman, though it has developed a considerable body of distinctive roots of its own and occasionally shows some affinity for Chinese, e.g. the Karen root *su "hand" corresponds to Chinese śiəu (手). The

193 197 numerals are distinctly Tibeto-Burman rather than Chinese-Thai. Tones are more prominent in Karen than in Chinese, Thai, or Tibeto-Burman. The modern Karen dialects are characterized by elaborate tonal systems and abound in phrases composed of two or more vocables, each often representing a distinct root. Prefixes are employed to a limited degree, but on the whole appear to belong to a later morphological stratum than those found in Tibeto-Burman. All the Karen dialects have experienced great phonetic degeneration, especially with respect to finals. Final nasals seem to have fallen together at an early period, and even this secondary nasalization is now maintained only in Pwo and Taungthu, while final stops are represented only in Taungthu. The following sets of roots show the Karen correspondences for final -um and -ung, as reconstructed on the basis of the TB cognates:

Final -um

	TB	Pwo	Taungthu	Sgaw	Bghai	Karenni
three	*(g-)sum	θũ	θũ	θő	θő	θ́ő
ant	-	t'ũ	t'ũ	tő	tő	tő

Final -ung

	TB	Pwo	Taungthu	Sgaw	Bghai	Karenni
stone	*lung	lõ	lũ	lő	lő	lau
horn	-	nõ	nũ	nö	nő	nau

Note that the two series are distinguished only in Pwo and Karenni. Note also θ- < s-, a Karen feature.

197 The Karen dialectical divisions are in general of minimal significance, as indicated in the above tabulations. Taungthu,

197 which preserves final stop consonants in some instances, is the aberrant member of the group, though it approaches Pwo in many respects. The literary dialects are Sgaw, spoken throughout the Irrawaddy Delta, and Pwo, spoken primarily in coastal districts. The remaining Karen dialects, spoken in the Karenni Subdivision and other mountainous inland areas, are often grouped together under the general term "Bwe" (as in Marshall), but several distinct dialectical groups are included. The best list is that given by Taylor, who cites five groups (in addition to Sgaw, Pwo, and Taungthu), viz. Mopwa (= Mopgha); Karenbyu ("White Karen"), Bwe, and Brek; Karenni ("Red Karen"); Padaung, Yinbaw, and Cheko; Zayein. Gilmore and Mason have contributed brief discussions of the phonetic shifts that obtain among the several Karen dialects, but this linguistic field otherwise remains untouched. Most of the observations made in the present study are based on the writer's own studies.

601 Of primary importance for Karen kinship terminology are the lists of terms in Webb's census report. Much additional material has been obtained from the word-lists in Scott's Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, but relatively few kinship terms are included in these lists. The best recorded terms are those found in the LSI (1928), by L. F. Taylor, but these are of similarly restricted scope. The Sgaw terms have been checked from the standard Sgaw dictionaries (in Karen script) by Wade, a pioneer in this field, while some use has also been made of the Pwo dictionary by Duffin

601 Variant Sgaw terms, and additional definitions of terms, are based on Wade. Account has also been taken of the description of Sgaw terms given by Marshall. Minor sources include the Red Karen vocabulary by Houghton, and the Red Karen and White Karen (= Sgaw Karen) vocabularies by Walton (in Siamese script).

Since Sgaw is the best known Karen dialect, the terms from this language have been selected for tabulation. The pattern shown here may be regarded as typical for the family as a whole, though minor variations do appear in various dialects, as pointed out in the annotations below.

Sgaw Consanguineal Terms

p'i gM		p'ü gF
mo M		pa F
mü-gha PSi		p'a-ti PB
	wü oSb,PoSbCh	
	pü ySb,PySbCh	
	(tă-)k'wa pxC	
	p'o Ch	
	p'o-do pxN	
	li pxN,gCh	
	lo ggCh	

Sgaw Affinal Terms

	mi-pgha Pl	
ma W		wa H
mi Sil		yɔ Bl
	nü WSb	k'i-nü WSiH
dü Dl		ma[4] Sl

601 **Notes:**

Sgaw p'i gM and p'ŭ gF represent the standard Karen roots *p'i and *p'u, directly cognate with the Tibeto-Burman gP roots. The only variations noted are Bre (Webb lxiv) a-p'i gF, a-p'i-ma-mu gM (as if based on a neuter term p'i gP), and Taungthu (Webb lxi) me taru FM,MM, p'a p'ra FF, mo p'ra MF, based on me M and p'a F; for the element p'ra, cf. Sgaw pgha "old" (note Taungthu p'a = Sgaw pa F), and the Sgaw term mŭ-li p'i-pgha gM (Wade).

The terms mo M and pa F extend throughout the Karen dialects with little change. Karenni has pe F, just as it has pre < pra (= pgha) Fl, we < wa H, me < ma W. Parallel roots are represented by the Sgaw terms mŭ "female" and p'a "male". Pa and p'a are comparable with TB *p'a F (commonly used as male affix), while mo can be connected with Tib. mo "woman, female" and the Kukish root *mou Dl. Karen mu (Sgaw mŭ) "female" is apparently not represented in Tibeto-Burman. The TB root *wa (but "father" in Kachin and elsewhere) appears in Karen in the meaning "husband", while TB *ma M appears in the meaning "wife". These spouse terms are constant for all the Karen dialects examined by the writer, with one partial exception (Kenoo pwe W, in Webb lxxiv), and must be taken as true primary roots. The primary signification of all these roots, both in Tibeto-Burman and Karen, seems to have been "female" rather than "mother" in a specific kinship sense. The relationships existing between the TB and Karen sets of roots are indicated in the following table:

601

Tibeto-Burman		Karen	
*ma	mother, female	*ma	wife
*mou	female (Tibetan) Dl (Kukish)	*mo	mother
-		*mu	female
*p'a	father, male	*pa *p'a	father male
*wa	father, male	*wa	husband

Taungthu and perhaps other Karen dialects have employed *mu rather than *mo as the term for M. In the following table the words for "mother" and "sun" are given for six dialects, four of which have parallel forms (Karen *mu "sun, sky", corresponding to the Kachin-Nung-Burmese root *mu "sky").

	Pwo	Sgaw	Taungthu	Yintale	Padaung	Yinbaw
mother	mo	mo	mu	mün	mäö	mög
sun	mu	mü	mu	mön	mäü	mög

Sgaw we, pü, and p'o represent the three widely distributed Karen roots *wai oSb, *pu ySb, and *p'o Ch. Sex distinctions are made with the aid of the k'wa "male" (rather than p'a) and mü "female", e.g. p'o-k'wa S, p'o-mü D. There are no indications of more than two primary Sb terms, nor of sex-of-speaker distinctions (contrast Tibeto-Burman). Neither *wai nor *pu appears to have TB cognates, unless one compares the latter with Tib. bu Ch. Wade further defines Sgaw pü ySb as "tender, fresh, soft, yielding"; cf. the Kukish doublet roots *nau ySb and *nou "young, tender". The neuter term p'o Ch, which is also used in the meaning "young, small", is

601 to be compared with Tib. p'o "male", paralleling mo "female". If this comparison is correct, the Karen term must have originally stood for "male Ch".

The basic terms just outlined, which are applied to relatives in Ego's line of descent, show great stability in all the Karen dialects. In contrast to this, the collateral nomenclature varies from dialect to dialect, with numerous variant terms in use. The pattern itself, however, everywhere conforms to a single type, with the exception of that found in Taungthu (the Taungthu terms are presented below and will not be discussed at this point). The collateral lines are merged in most cases, though distinctions are sometimes made in the PSb terms. In sharp contrast to Tibeto-Burman, primary collateral terms are lacking, and the single forms that appear in some dialects are best interpreted as elliptical formations. The Sgaw terms mú-gha PSi and p'a-ti PB reflect the use of the roots *mu and *p'a in the meaning "M" and "F", in place of the normal terms mo M and pa F. For the analysis of the element -gha, vide infra. The element -ti can be identified with the word ti "closeness, compactness; own or blood relation", as used in ti-nɔ "closest kindred". Mú-gha also appears in the abbreviated forms mgha and even ma. The term ya "stepfather", cited by Wade, is probably a variant of gha, on the same tone (mú-gha is used for "stepmother" as well as for "PSi").

The Sgaw development mú-gha > mgha > ma explains Mopwa and Bwe ma-ma PSi (Webb lxxiv). Mopwa a-pwa FB, pwa-pwa MB, however, are connected with Sgaw pgha (infra), and are of some aid in interpreting that term. Bres (Webb lxxiv) has ma-ma PSi and a-pwa MB, paralleling Mopwa, but a curious neuter term a-si FB,MSi, i.e. parallel PSb. Yinbaw sa PSi,MB, Padaung sa PSi (Webb lxiv) cannot be identified, nor Padaung nă MB. Konoo and Gaiko a-to ~ a-do PSb (Webb lxxiv) are based on the Karen root do "relationship by marriage", also used as an honorific affix (vide infra). Bre mo-du PSi, p'a-du PB (Webb lxiv) contain the same element. More unusual than any of the above are the Yangalai terms mein PSi, (ka-)maik MB (Webb lxiv), corresponding to Yintale men "aunt", mai "uncle" (Scott). The first of these terms is apparently connected with Pwo meĩ, Sgaw mi (infra).

In Sgaw the Sb terms can be extended to include pxC, according to Marshall. Note that distinctions are made according to the relative ages of Ego's P and PSb rather than of Ego and PSbCh. This feature, which has not been encountered in the Tibeto-Burman material, is of 'Yuma' type (Spier's classification). The alternative term (tă-)k'wa pxC is based on the male affix k'wa; cf. p'o "Ch" < "male Ch" (supra). Wade also cites a term k'wă, defined only as "of the relation of cousins" (cf. k'wa and wa H, k'wă and wă oSb). A third term is po-k'wa "cousin", based on po "human species, male or female". Pwo has (ta-)k'wa pxC as in Sgaw, but most of the remaining dialects have a distinct term, e.g. Mano pu-bu, Karenni pŏ-bu, Bwę (g-)bŏ, Gaiko nga-bu, Bres a-bŏ. This term has not yet been identified with anything in Sgaw or Pwo.

601 Sgaw p'o-do pxN represents the normal Karen usage. It is based on p'o S plus the element do "relationship by marriage". Burmese to "to be related", as in hnats-mă-to "female cousin", would appear to be the same element, and one must suspect that borrowing has taken place, probably on the part of the Karen. Wade cites the combined term wă-p'o "Ch of oB or oSi", indicating that analytical terms are often applied. Webb cites a distinct N term for Pwo, viz. mu-ru.

According to Marshall, the term li gCh is applied to Ne and Ni. This equation also appears in Taungthu, and is discussed below in connection with that language. The root *li extends throughout the Karen dialects, following the standard phonetic shifts, e.g. Karenni lŏ < *li gCh paralleling p'ŏ < *p'i gN, Yangalai lai < *li gCh paralleling p'ai(k) < *p'i gN. The obvious comparison is with the TB root *ma-li gCh (Nung, Burmese), xN (Mikir). The lack of a prefix in the Karen root is fairly conclusive evidence that this root has not been borrowed from Tibeto-Burman, as one might otherwise suggest. For the alliteration shown by Sgaw li gCh, lo ggCh, cf. the following series:

	TB	Kachin	Burmese	Lolo	Thai	Sgaw
gCh	*za	šu	mre^{3}	*m-li	*hlan	li
ggCh	*ts'a	ši	mrats	*m-lak	*hlen	lo

Siamese has a full series: hlan gCh, hlen ggCh, hlon gggCh, and Kachin has ša Ch, šu gCh, šu ma-ši ggCh, šu ma-šă gggCh

601

The Karen affinal nomenclature includes several primary terms in addition to ma W and wa H discussed above. The neuter Pl term is found in all the Karen dialects, occasionally with the suffixed elements k'wa "male" or mu "female" to effect a distinction between Fl and Ml (as in the Pwo list in Webb). The combined form is less common than the isolated form; cf. Bre mü-pra, Mano mi-pwa, Padaung and Yinbaw pra, Yangalai (ka-)pra, Karenni p're < *p'ra. Pwo has meĭ̃-ša Pl, the exact equivalent of Sgaw mi-pgha. The basic meaning of pgha (Pwo sa) is "mature, old; head man, elder", whence its application to Pl as a respectful appellation. The tone is the same as that of the element -gha as found in mü-gha PSl, and gha has the additional meaning "maturity". We can safely infer that pgha represents *pa-gha from *pa F, paralleling mü-gha > mgha PSl. Formations of this type are not unknown in Karen; cf. Sgaw pgha ~ gha "person" (on different tone from above root). If this derivation is correct, one should expect to find pgha used in the meaning "PB", and this condition is fulfilled in Mopwa and Bres a-pwa PB (supra).

The terms for Sl and Dl are constant in the Karen dialects, with the partial exception of Taungthu (infra). The roots are *dai Dl and *mak Sl, the latter corresponding to TB *mak Sl. The forms for *dai Dl parallel those for *wai oSb, e.g. Karenni dia < *dai Dl, via < *wai oSb, nya < *ngai "five". The final consonant of the root *mak is retained in Taungthu (mak), and is reflected also in the abrupt tone of the Pwo and Sgaw forms, represented by superscript 4 (a^4) in the writer's tonal notation (the root is entirely distinct from *ma W). The Sgaw evidence is especially clear; cf. ya < TB *ngak "plantain" (vide the table in pt. 1), mă < TB *mik "eye" (or perhaps Burmese myak), and the loan-words li "book" (Indic lik), mlo "cannon" (Burmese a-mrok), all with the abrupt Sgaw tone (5).

Our data on the Karen Sbl terms is not complete, and the terms that we do have are difficult to interpret. The term mi Sil (unspecified) appears also in the combined term mi-pgha Pl, Pwo meĩ-sa, which has already been analyzed. The phonetic correspondence suggests an original root *ming or *min:

	Tibeto-Burman	Sgaw	Pwo
year	*ning	ni	neĩ
name	*ming	mi	meĩ
ripe	*smin	mi	meĩ

Sgaw nă is defined as "W's B or Si" (Wade), and the combined term k'i-nă as "the relation of persons whose wives are sisters". Both k'i ~ c'i and nă ~ ne ~ nai appear as independent Sbl terms in the various Karen dialects, the latter having the wider distribution. Mano distinguishes between nă Bl(ms) and k'i Sbl(ss), and similar distinctions are made in other dialects, but there is much diversity here and no generalizations can be made. Sgaw also makes use of the element de "collateral part or branch of a thing", as in pă-de yBW, pă-de-mă WySi(ms), and of analytical terms, e.g. ma-wă WeSb, ma-pă WySb.

Sgaw yɔ Bl is perhaps a Burmese loan-word (yok-p'a˺ Bl,ms). This term is confined to Mopwa, Bwe, Konoo, and Bres, all of which show the form yo-pa (Mopwa WB, Bwe WB,WSiH, Bres WB,HB, WSiH, Konoo WB,HB). Sgaw also has the term yɔ "male cousin", found only in the combination k'wa-yɔ ~ k'a-yɔ, id. This term is on a different tone from yɔ Bl, however, and neither has the abrupt tone which should be expected if a final stop consonant had been dropped. On still other tones Sgaw has yɔ "reverence, treat with respect", and yɔ "term of friendship between young women".

The Taungthu nomenclature has been reserved for especial consideration because of its generally aberrant nature. The only source of importance is Webb, who gives two lists of Taungthu kinship terms (pp. lxi and lxv). The latter list, called "Paungthu", the more satisfactory of the two, yields the following pattern.

Taungthu Consanguineal Terms

p'i	gM,FSi			p'u	gF,MB
mu	M			p'a	F
mu-tan	MoSi,FoBW			p'a-tan	FoB,MoSiH
mu-nang	MySi,FyBW			p'a-nang	FyB,MySiH
ve-mu	oSi			ve-k'o	oB
p'u-mu	ySi			p'u-k'o	yB
		ve	FBCh		
		mak	FSiCh,MSiCh,MBCh		
po-mu	D	po	BCh(mws)	po-k'o	S
		li	SiCh(mws),gCh		

Taungthu Affinal Terms

p'i	MBW,Ml	p'u	FSiH,Fl
(a-)ma	W	wa	H
(ka-)ning	HSi	mak	WoB,SiH(mws),Sl
		p'u	WyB,WySiH
mu-tan	WSi,HBW,oBW(mws)	p'a-tan	HoB,WoSiH
mu-nang	yBW(mws)	p'a-nang	HyB
p'a-nam	Dl		

Notes:

The terms are in the main the same as those found in other Karen dialects, with minor phonetic shifts of Pwo type, e.g. p'a < *pa F, p'u < *pu ySb, but po < *p'o Ch; -k'o < *k'wa "male". As mentioned above, Taungthu has *mu M rather than *mo. The age distinctions made in the PSb terms are altogether exceptional for Karen, and are perhaps indicative of Thai or Burmese influence (morphologically they are of Burmese rather than Thai type). The most striking feature of the Taungthu pattern, however, is the equation of FSi with gM, of MB with gF, and the further categorical equation of these terms with Ml and Fl, respectively. The Taungthu list in Webb, p. lxi, does not show these equations and has simply Fl = F, Ml = M, but a third Taungthu list (in Scott) has pu Fl, pyi Ml, so that the reality of this equation is assured. The general picture is comparable with that found in Kuki, but note that bilateral rather than unilateral xC marriage is reflected, along with teknonymy ("Fl" = "gF of S"). The equation of mak Sl with Bl is also suggestive of the Kuki pattern, and the further equation with xC, through "invasion" of the consanguineal nomenclature, can also be matched in Kuki. Taungthu p'a-nam Dl suggests a comparison with the TB root *nam, but in the list on p. lxi the form is cited as pa-nein and thus the form remains in doubt. Taungthu (ka-)ning HSi further suggests a comparison with Kachin ning xCi(ws), Sil(ws); cf. also Pwo k'ei-nin Sbl(ds), as cited in Webb.

The equation of N with gCh has already been noted for Sgaw, and is found also in Padaung, along with a further equation with C, viz. li SS, p'ok-li DS,pxN,PSiCh (p'ok= p'auk S< Karen *p'o). Yinbaw, a closely related dialect, has li gS, p'auk-du pxN,PSiCh (-du < Karen *do). The Taungthu list on p. lxi similarly has li gS,pxN,FSBCh (the terms for MSbCh are omitted from this list). The equation of pxN with gCh can be accounted for on the basis of the equation of MB with gF and FSi with gM, but the additional equation with pxC cannot be thus explained. The same sort of equations are met with in the Shan lists presented by Webb (pp. liii, lxv), as well as in the Pale and Palaung lists (pp. l, li, lix) and the Yang Lam list (pp. lx, lxv). Pale and Palaung, of Mon-Khmer stock, have borrowed the Shan term lan, while Yang Lam, a third member of this stock, has retained the native term pli (used only for gCh,pxN). As stated above, the pxN = gCh equation is typical of the Thai system of nomenclature in general, but the Thai terms for "C" are distinct. It may be that the Karen nomenclature has at this point undergone Thai

601 or Mon-Khmer influence. More reliable data on this polyglot area should yield many important facts with regard to the nature of the borrowing process.

In review, it has been shown that the Karen system of kinship nomenclature, though built up on the basis of a fair proportion of TB roots, yet is quite distinct as to pattern. The key TB roots for "MB" and "FSi" are not present, nor do any primary PSb roots appear to have been developed. The collateral lines are distinguished from the central line more carefully than in Tibeto-Burman, but the cross and parallel lines are merged. With the exception of Taungthu, an aberrant member of the family, there are but scant suggestions of categorical equations of TB type. The equation of pxN with gCh has TB analogies, but in Karen this feature is of restricted distribution and is perhaps to be explained in terms of diffusion. The stressing of age distinctions rather than sex distinctions constitutes another link with the TB system, but the use of a single term for "oSb" is a Thai rather than TB feature.

The Karen terminology thus presents the problem of genetic linguistic affiliations vs. structural divergences. While, on the linguistic side, Karen was experiencing a radical shift in syntactical pattern (object after rather than before verb), on the cultural side the system of patrilineal clans with xC marriage seems to have been breaking down into something approaching a bilateral kindred organization.

601 Either Thai or Mon-Khmer influence can be invoked to account for this transformation, the latter appearing to the writer the more likely. It is well to note which terms have survived during this process: *p'i gM, *p'u gF, *p'a F, *mak Sl, but not *ni FSi nor *k'u MB (contrast Chinese, vide pt. 3).

The Karen have, for some unaccountable reason, succeeded in escaping study by a professional anthropologist, and remain to the present day a choice field for scientific exploitation. The well known monograph by Marshall is not more than a fair missionary effort, and aside from this we have only the scattered notes in Scott's Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States. The little that we know of Karen social organization, however, is in general accordance with the Karen kinship nomenclature that has just been analyzed. Descent appears to be reckoned bilaterally, and clans are presumably lacking. Residence is normally matrilocal, on the testimony both of Marshall (p. 190) and of Scott (pp. 527-531), in contrast to the patrilocal residence found among most Tibeto-Burman-speaking peoples (but there are indications of matrilocal residence among the Burmish-Loloish tribes, including the Burmese themselves, and this feature has been recorded for the Rasa, a Konyak tribe). The Karen originally had the bachelor's house (blaw) institution, such as that found in the Tibeto-Burman area, but this is now obsolescent (Marshall 62, 138 and ff.).

All of our authorities on the Karen have remarked on the tendency toward cousin marriage among this people. The most

601 specific statement that has been found is that made by Mason (1866) with reference to the Bghai:

> First cousins may marry, but that relation is considered undesirably close. Second cousins are deemed most suitable for marriage. Third cousins may marry without impropriety, although that relation is considered as undesirably remote. Beyond third cousins marriages are prohibited. (pp. 18, 19).

Marshall reports (p. 176) that it is "not uncommon" for second and third cousins to marry, but rare for first cousins to do so. In Scott we find the statement, with reference to the Zayein, that marriages are permitted only between "near relatives, such as cousins" (p. 540). Marriage beyond the limits of this immediate kindred group is deemed worthy of especial mention by Scott:

> Exogamy is the rule among these tribes Padaung ; they are allowed to marry any women they please and are not tied down to blood relations as is customary among other Karen tribes. (p. 537).

These marriage restrictions appear to have been carried to a pathological extreme among the Zayein and Banyang (or Banyok), according to the account in Scott. The Banyang inhabit a single village (Banyin), which formerly intermarried with the village of Pahlaing but is now completely endogamous. Their numbers are said to be rapidly dwindling because of the rarity of marriages - a result of the regulations described above. If we can trust our author, "the men are said to be very averse to marriage", and "have frequently to be taken by force to the bride's house" (p. 547). The Zayein are described in even more vivid terms. The young men of a Zayein village are completely segregated from the unmarried women of the village, and are forced to live in a bachelor's house (*haw=blaw*)

601 outside the village limits. They are not permitted to enter the homes of their parents, nor to speak to any of the young women of the village. The proportion of aged bachelors and spinsters is said to be high, as is the proportion of couples of unequal age. If an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, she and her lover are forced to commit suicide (suicide was once very common among the Sgaw, according to Marshall, p. 150). If this description is even approximately correct, the Banyang and Zayein should repay study in terms of frustration, incest taboos, and the like.

The presence of preferential marriage with second cousin suggests interesting possibilities, but the value of this information is greatly diminished by the fact that we do not know whether pC or xC, or both, are involved. Scott notes that among the Zayein intermarriage is permitted only between members of certain villages, and describes six exogamous groups of villages, each including from two to six villages. No further details are offered, however, and Marshall gives no hint of groupings of this kind. It is evident that our Kachin material cannot be fully evaluated until more ethnographic data are made available.

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[1] [For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, ALI Southeast Asia ALI -- Analyst]

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Chinese

3. Chinese

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601
In the present section the writer proposes to examine the Chinese system of nomenclature with reference to the basic Tibeto-Burman system reconstructed above. Our interest naturally lies in the early Chinese system rather than in the later developments, for it is here that significant points of resemblance can be expected to appear. We shall devote our attention, therefore, to "Ancient Chinese" rather than to "Chinese" in general.

Our analysis has been made possible by the definitive work by Feng, to whom the anthropological world owes a lasting debt of gratitude. Just how great a debt this is can be realized only after a comparison has been made with the early crude account by Morgan (based on material supplied by Hart, an English customs official), the not-so-early but equally inadequate description by Ku, and even the more recent work by Chen and Shryock, which suffers from a grievous want of historical perspective. Feng has provided us with a detailed account of Chinese kinship nomenclature from the earliest period down to the present, based on carefully checked sources which are handled in the competent manner seldom attained even by our foremost European sinologues. A fair proportion of illustrative material is incorporated, and Chinese characters are cited. It is from this excellent source that the writer has drawn most of the material cited in this study.

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Feng's work is incomplete only with respect to the modern dialects of China. Dialectical vocative terms are cited, and the developments behind some of the modern terms are brought to light, but the treatment is essentially literary throughout. For the modern dialects as such we must turn to isolated descriptions of individual dialectical patterns, e.g. May's account of Cantonese nomenclature. The single exception here is furnished by Fei's analysis of the kinship terms employed in the dialects of Wukiang (Kiangsu), Shanghai, Hangchow (Chekiang), Tungchow (Hopei), Quemoy (Fukien), and Lanchow (Kansu), representing three major dialectical groups (Mandarin, Shanghai, Fukien). Fei devotes most of his attention to the vocative terms, which he regards as "more directly connected with the social organization" (p. 128).

From the present point of view, the main defect in Feng's work lies in the almost entire absence of linguistic treatment. Feng refers to his own method of approach as "primarily historical and linguistic" (p. 147), but from his footnote to this page we can see that he employs the term 'linguistic' in a greatly generalized sense. A truly linguistic approach calls for the use of archaic forms rather than of the phonetically degenerate Mandarin forms of the present day, and for an attempt, at least, to point out the affinities of these terms, both within and without Chinese. The employment of archaic forms, even in a

121 normalized orthography, would have removed the confusion
601 produced by (modern) homonyms such as fu < b'iu (父) F, fu < piu (夫) H, fu < b'i u (婦) SW; cf. Kroeber's uncertainty on this point in his analysis of the material presented by Chen and Shryock (p. 152).

601 The writer has attempted to supply the linguistic
[121] treatment lacking in Feng's work. The forms cited are those of Ancient Chinese, as reconstructed for approximately A. D. 600. The still earlier Archaic Chinese language of the first millenium B. C. has also been reconstructed in part, but our authorities in this field (notably Karlgren, Simon, Li Fang-kuei, and Chao Yuan-jên) disagree on many important points. The problems of a purely linguistic nature in this connection are manifold and cannot be entered upon in the present review, though occasional points are discussed below. The Ancient Chinese forms cited are slightly normalized variants of those found in Karlgren's well known *Analytic Dictionary*. In Karlgren's orthography, adopted here in the interest of uniformity, ʌ represents the vowel of Eng. 'but', and a the vowel of Eng. 'all'.

The ancient system of nomenclature is that recorded in the Êrh Ya and the early ritual works (Li Chi), supplemented by occasional gleanings from other classical works such as the Tso Chuan and Mencius. Our data on this ancient system are not complete, but enough of it is known to provide a good basis for discussion. In the tabulation below only the more significant terms are included. Modern Mandarin forms are cited within parentheses.

601

Ancient Chinese Consanguineal Terms

yiwang-məu (王 wang) gM	tsuo (祖 tsu) gF yiwang-b'iu (王 wang) gF
məu (母 mu) M	b'iu (父 fu) F
dz'iwong-məu (從 ts'ung) MSi	dz'iwong-b'iu (從 ts'ung) FB
	śiäi-b'iu (世 shih) FoB
kuo (姑 ku) FSi	g'iəu (舅 chiu) MB
tsi (姊 tzŭ) oSi	xiwong (兄 hsiung) oB kuən (昆 k'un) oB
mwâi (妹 mei) ySi	d'iei (弟 ti) yB
dz'iwong-b'iu tsi-mwâi FBD	dz'iwong-b'iu kuən-d'iei FBS
dz'iwong-məu tsi-mwâi MSiD	dz'iwong-məu kuən-d'iei MSiS
	səng (甥 shêng) xCo,SiS(ms)
	tś'iuĕt (出 ch'u) SiS(ms)

d'iĕt (姪 chih) BCh(ws)

niwo (女 nü) D,BD(ms)	tsi (子 tzŭ) S,BS(ms)
	suən (孫 sun) gS

Ancient Chinese Affinal Terms

kuo Ml	g'iəu Fl
i (姨 i) WSi	a (亞 ya) WSiH
sâu (嫂 sao) oBW	səng Bl(ms)
b'iəu (婦 fu) Dl	siwo (婿 hsü) Sl

Notes:

The term tsuo gF has the basic signification of "ancestor", while yiwang < *gwang is the word for "king", cognate with γwang (皇 huang) "sovereign, imperial, august". The Êrh Ya

601 prefixes the element ngwâi (外 wai) when these terms are applied to MF and MM, just as it prefixes ngwâi to the terms kuo and g'iəu when applied to WM and WF, respectively, but the unprefixed terms are also employed. In general, this early system dispenses with the use of categorical terms of this type, except in describing kin of the more remote collateral lines. It is only in the later systems that this type of descriptive nomenclature is fully developed.

The vocative terminology, both ancient and modern, shows much more variation than the descriptive (cf. Fei). Some of the more important P and gP terms are: kung (公 kung) gF (used as a title in early times); ung (翁 wêng) gF (probably etymologically related to the foregoing; cf. Pelliot, also Feng, note 55 to p. 215); ia (爺 yeh) F,gF; t'ia < *tia (爹 tieh) F (apparently developed in North China); pa (爸 pa) F (apparently developed in South China); b'uâ (婆 p'o) gM; nǎi (嬭 nai) gM (also applied to M in state of Ch'u); niang (娘 niang) M (also "young lady"); ma (媽 ma) M (the most common term).

The PSb terms in use at this early period in China conform fundamentally to Lowie's "bifurcate merging" type rather than to his "bifurcate collateral" type. The most common terms for MSi and FB appear to have been dz'iwong-məu and dz'iwong-b'iu, respectively, based on the words for M and F plus the element dz'iwong "following". The term śiäi-b'iu FoB, formed with the element śiäi < *śiad "generation", was also in general use. These combined terms were

601 gradually replaced by the terms pɐk (伯 po) "elder" and śiuk (叔 shu) "younger", first in combination with b'iu F (as in the Li Chi) and later independently. Pɐk, one of the feudal titles, is also found in combination with xiwong oB and tsi oSi, as if reinforcing the age distinctions implied in those terms, while śiuk was originally the categorical term applied to the third of a series of brothers. Paralleling the development of these independent terms for FoB and FyB, the affinal term i was applied to MB as early as ca. 500 B. C. (the earliest recorded instance is found in the Tso Chuan) and has been retained in this meaning to the present day. The modern Chinese system is therefore of "bifurcate collateral" type, as pointed out by Kroeber and Chen and Shryock.

The four Sb terms appear in the earliest material and must be regarded as basic to the system. Of the pair of terms for oB, kuən seems to have been the older and xiwong the more recent; note that kuən-d'iei rather than xiwong-d'iei is employed in the cousin nomenclature. There are indications that d'iei could be used for "ySi" as well as "yB", and an especial character (娣) for the term in this connotation is found in the Shih Ming (ca. A. D. 200).

In the modern dialects, the old terms for oSi and oB have in vocative usage been replaced by tsia (姐 chieh) and kâ (哥 ko), respectively, whereas the terms for ySi and yB have been retained even in address. Thus Chinese, like Tibeto-Burman, attests to the generalization that terms

601 applied to kin older than speaker (or otherwise in a position calling for respect) are more susceptible to change than their complementary terms. Tsia is perhaps a variant of tsi (tsia< tsi-a). The term kâ appears in T'ang times in the meaning "F", and was only later (9th tp 10th centuries) applied to "oB". Pelliot has compared the prefixed form a-kâ with Turkic and Mongol aqa oB, but this Altaic form is relatively late. The equation oB= F also appears in xiwong (5th century A. D., as used among some royal families), and the parallel equation oSi= M both in tsi (applied to M in state of Ch'i) and tsia (applied to M throughout the Yangtze valley down to the 13th century). Comparable equations have been noted above for Tibeto-Burman (Section A).

The terms tsi S (tonally identical with tsi oSi) and suən gS are basically neuter (Ch and gCh), but are commonly employed in a masculine sense. Niwo D functions in combined terms as a feminine affix, e.g. suən-niwo (or niwo-suən) gD. Other terms for Ch are ńźie < ńia (兒 êrh) (a diminutive suffix in the modern language) and nuo (孥 nu), apparently the same word as nuo (奴 nu) "slave, servant" (this semantic association is found also in Kachin).

The collateral nomenclature presents an interesting contrast between the pC terms, formed in an analytical manner, andthe xCe term ʂeng. Feng (p. 171) is inclined to dismiss the Êrh Ya statement equating xCe with xMe as a later interpolation, and is unable to interpret the alternative term

601 tś'iuĕt xNe cited in the same source. In Mencius, however, ṣɐng is used in the meaning "Sl", which can be explained only if we assign the basic meaning "xNe" to this term. It would appear to the writer that ṣɐng and g'iəu are conceptually reciprocal terms paralleling d́'iĕt and kuo, and that the use of ṣɐng in the meaning "xCe" represents an extension of the term. In the Êrh Ya classification, ṣɐng is placed in the Ch'i tang (妻黨) category, "Relatives through wife", hence the affinal affiliations of the term seem to have been uppermost in the minds of the compilers of this classic. The application to xCe perhaps represents an "invasion" of the consanguineal nomenclature via the equation of WH with DH. According to this interpretation, ṣɐng would originally have stood for "husband of a woman of Ego's clan"; cf. the development of the TB root *mak Sl in Kuki and Abor-Miri. Tś'iuĕt < t́'iuĕt SlS(ms) and d́'iĕt BCh(ws) appear to be variants of a single root, perhaps for xN(mws). The former is cited only in the Êrh Ya (the root is regularly used in the meaning "go out"), and thus can be regarded as of dialectical origin. The xN distinctions are reflected also in the terms lyie-suən (離 li) SlSS(ms), lit. "departing gS", and kywie-suən (歸 kuei) BSS(ws), lit. "returning gS".

The classing of BCh (ms) with Ego's Ch, though not shown in the Êrh Ya (where these terms are lacking), can safely be inferred from the data supplied by Feng. A distinction began to appear in Han times, with the result that the term d́'iĕt was shifted from BCh(ws) to BCh(ms) during the Chin period (265-420).

The affinal nomenclature presents basic categorical equations at three points (Ml = FSi, Fl = MB, Bl = xCo), all indicating xC marriage of bilateral type. Sâu oBW is perhaps a woman's term (Êrh Ya). This term is also employed in the meaning "matron", and may originally have been a general honorific; cf. sẹu (叟 sou) "old man, sir" (on same tone and with same phonetic element). The term i < 'ii WSi appears to have been applied only when the sisters married different men, i.e. under non-sororate conditions. This term has from early times been used for "WSi" (vide supra). The terms b'iau Dl and siwo Sl are also employed for W and H, respectively, along with numerous other terms which do not merit consideration in this brief review. Finally, a WSiH can be interpreted as an extension of the word in its fundamental meaning "second, younger, inferior", since under a system of brother-sister exchange WSiH becomes Ego's B (we must suppose that the term was applied to WySiH = yB).

The correlation of the system of nomenclature just described with the ancient Chinese practices of cross-cousin marriage and the sororate has been noted by several writers on the subject, with Feng giving the most thorough account. Feng has further invoked the principle of teknonymy to account for a number of later developments in the system, notably the application of kuo FSi to HSi (from the 4th century on) and of g'iau MB to WB (from the 10th century on). Granet has attempted to explain the same features in terms of irregular marriages between members of different generations, e.g. the marriage of oSiD by a Han emperor, and of FFSiD (i.e. F's paternal xCi) by a T'ang emperor. Feng has convincingly refuted the arguments brought forward by Granet, and the writer has nothing to add on this point. Insofar as the present limited field of enquiry is concerned, Granet and his theories can be dismissed without loss.

A comparison of the ancient Chinese nomenclature with that reconstructed for Tibeto-Burman brings out some points of capital interest. Basically the two systems are identical or very nearly so. Both have primary terms for FSi and MB, as contrasted with MSi and FB terms formed through extensions of the terms for M and F, plus categorical elements of various types. Age distinctions are on the whole more prominent in Chinese, but not significantly so, e.g. the age distinctions in the PSb terms can be more than matched in Burmese and Southern Kuki. The two most serious points of discrepancy occur in the gP and Sb sets of terms. Chinese has nothing to match the TB primary roots *p'i gM and *p'u gF, though it must be noted that vocative terms are not lacking (vide supra). Chinese distinguishes between muâi ySi and d'iei yB, as opposed to the TB neuter term *nau ySb, yet there are indications that d'iei was originally a neuter term (ySb), as noted above. Muâi ySi was perhaps secondarily developed from the root represented by mәu M, from a basic connotation "female" (Li Fang-kuei has suggested reconstructions calling for mәu < *mwәk, muâi < *mwәk, the vocalism being determined by ton

601 The sex-of-speaker distinctions found in a number of TB languages do not appear in the Chinese Sb terms. Chinese has two well-attested terms for oB, however, and it might be argued that one of these was originally a man's term, the other a woman's term.

The agreement of the two systems in the affinal terminology, each showing categorical equations indicative of cross-cousin marriage, is undoubtedly the most significant single fact that has been unearthed in the course of our survey of Asiatic kinship. Since we have abundant evidence for cross-cousin marriage itself in both areas, as well as the terminologies in both linguistic families, the inference of an ancient cross-cousin marriage pattern becomes virtually inevitable.

This inference is further supported by an amazing piece of linguistic evidence. Scarcely any of the Chinese kinship terms can be identified as cognates of TB roots, despite the close agreements of the two kinship patterns (contrast Karen). The vocative terms ma M and pa F are of TB type, but the descriptive terms məu M (perhaps from *mwək or *mək) and b'iu F are apparently distinct from any roots in TB or Karen. The linguistic problems in connection with these terms, however, are extremely intricate, and it is doubtful whether they can successfully be attacked at the present stage of investigation. Thus, tsi S would appear to be cognate with a similar root found in Gyarung and Kanauri, but the archaic Chinese form may have been *tsiəg, since in the Shih Ching

601 (Book of Odes) tsi (子) rhymes with tək (德), and its cognate dz'i (字) "to nourish, breed, cherish" rhymes with iək (翼). In the midst of all this uncertainty, however, we encounter the term g'iəu MB = Fl, which can beyond any reasonable doubt be identified with the TB root *k'u MB = Fl. As in other roots (cf. the root for "9" infra) the correspondence shown by the initials cannot be analyzed, though the unaspirated forms in Burmese and Kachin suggest that the TB root may have been *gu or *g'u rather than *k'u (both these languages regularly preserve initial aspiration). The finals, however, belong to one of the best established of all Sino-Tibetan phonetic series. The following set of roots is presented by way of illustration:

	Chinese	Tibetan	Kachin	Burmese
MB = Fl*	g'iəu (舅)	k'u	ku	kui
owl	g'iəu (舊)	-	k'u	-
nine	kiəu (九)	dgu	jă-k'u	kui^3
pigeon	kiəu (鳩)	k'u-**	-	k'ui

*Note: Tib. k'u FB; Kachin ku FSiH, HF, Bl; Burmese B (honorific prefix).

**Note: Tib. k'u-byug "cuckoo" (affiliation uncertain)

Such are the "fact in the case", whatever may be their significance. In Tibeto-Burman, as has been shown, the root *k'u MB is much less stable than *ni FSi, yet in the linguistic substratum common to Tibeto-Burman and Chinese it is the former and not the latter root that has been preserved. Under a system of cross-cousin marriage in conjunction with patrilineal

601 descent, however, MB= Fl rather than FSi=Ml should be the pivotal relationship, hence the problem is a two-sided one. No likely solution is at hand, and the writer will content himself merely by posing this as a final problem.

113

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[1] [For abbreviations, see this source in cat. 113, ALI Southeast Asia
ALI -- Analyst]

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23: Benedict
113, 197, 601

ALl Southeast Asia
Kuki-Lushai AR8

/For a linguistic reconstruction of the kinship terminology of the Kuki, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, chapter 12, pp. 280-289./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Kuki-Lushai AR8

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Kuki-Lushai AR8

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
197, 113, 601

AL1 Southeast Asia
West Tibetans AJ4
Northern Tribes AW45
Pahari AW14

/For a linguistic reconstruction of kinship terminology of several Tibetan-speaking peoples of India, see AL1 Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 52-74./

23: Benedict
113, 601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Sikkim AK3

/For kinship terms, see AL1 Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 38-39, and for the bibliography cited, see same source, pp. 47-51./

23: Benedict
601, 113

AL1 Southeast Asia
Balti AV2

/For kinship terms, see AL1 Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 31-33, and for the bibliography cited, see same source, pp. 47-51./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Tibet AJ1

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Tibet AJ1

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601, 113

AL1 Southeast Asia
Bhutan AK2

/For kinship terms in the Tsangla dialect, see AL1 Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 43-47, and for bibliography cited, see same source, pp. 47-51./

23: Benedict
113, 197, 601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Assam AR1

/For a linguistic reconstruction of the kinship terminology of the Aka people of Assam, see AL1 Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 138-139, 142-143./

le

23: Benedict
113, 197, 601

ALl Southeast Asia
Prehistoric Burma AP3

/For information on the kinship terminology of the Pyu, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 167-169./

23: Benedict
113, 197, 601

ALl Southeast Asia
Lolo AE4

/For a linguistic reconstruction of the kinship terminology of the Lolo, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 198-235./

23: Benedict
113, 197, 601

ALl Southeast Asia
Lahu AP13
Laotians AM8

/For a linguistic reconstruction of the kinship terminology of the Lahu and Laotians, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict: category 116, pp. 198-205, 230-235./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621 ✓

A L1 Southeast Asia
Kachin AP6

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
113, 197, 601

ALl Southeast Asia
Kachin AP6

/For a linguistic reconstruction of kinship terminology of the Maru and Atsi, see ALl Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 188-198, 230-235./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Kachin AP6

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Sino-Tibetan Border
Peoples AE3

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
113, 197, 601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Sino-Tibetan Border
Peoples AE3

/For a linguistic reconstruction of the kinship terminology of the Moso, Lisu, Nyi, Ahi, and Lolopho, see AL1 Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 205-235./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Sino-Tibetan Border
Peoples AE3

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Burmese AP4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Kachari AR6

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Kachari AR6

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

ALl Southeast Asia
Mikir AR10

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Mikir AR10

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Nepal AK1

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Nepal AK1

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Meithei AR9

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Meithei AR9

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Lepcha AK5

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Lepcha AK5

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

ALl Southeast Asia
Chittagong AR4

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Chittagong AR4

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Miri AR11

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

ALl Southeast Asia
Miri AR11

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

A L1 Southeast Asia
Naga AR13

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Naga AR13

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Mishmi AR12

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Mishmi AR12

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Garo AR5

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Garo AR5

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

ALl Southeast Asia
Karen AP7

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Karen AP7

/For lists of kinship terms, and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./

23: Benedict
601

AL1 Southeast Asia
Shan-Thai AL3

/For a linguistic confirmation of the kinship terms used in this source, see category 197./

23: Benedict
184, 192, 582, 591, 602, 611, 613, 614, 616,
618, 621

AL1 Southeast Asia
Shan-Thai AL3

/For lists of kinship terms; and for excellent and detailed information concerning correlations between kinship terminology, patterns of behavior, and social institutions, see category 601./